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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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21 November 1984

## USSR REPORT

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## INTERNATIONAL

### EVOLUTION OF AMERICAN INTERVENTIONISM

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 7, Jul 84 (signed to press 8 Jun 84)  
pp 14-26

[Article by T. A. Alekseyeva]

[Excerpts] The bandit raids on the civilian population of Nicaragua, the shelling of ships and the mining of its coastal waters, the modernization of the military "infrastructure" in Honduras, the landing of American troops in Grenada and the constant maneuvers and attempts to create new military alliances all testify that it is "hot" in the Western Hemisphere, and it does not take a magic mirror to see who is lighting the fuse and who is fanning the flames and keeping the fire going. The United States has used armed force in Latin America 26 times this century.

Numerous incidents of direct military intervention and occupation, generously subsidized coups d'etats and the offer of maximum assistance to reactionary regimes are traditions and are elements of American imperialism's present policy in the region.

#### A Policy of Aggression

The instigation of international conflicts and preparations for interventionist actions have almost always occupied a prominent place in the kaleidoscope of changing U.S. strategic doctrines and theories. It was a long time, however, between the "big stick" policy and Admiral Mahan's doctrine of sea power and the invasion of Grenada. The world has changed, and American interventionism has also changed. Only its imperious nature has remained essentially the same.

Within a short period of time, the American intervention in Vietnam put an end to the consensus in the establishment with regard to foreign policy means of securing U.S. supremacy. Above all, this was reflected in the strong opposition within the country to overseas military intervention. Public opinion polls indicated not long after the fall of the regime in Saigon that only 36 percent of the Americans wanted the United States to honor its "commitments" abroad.<sup>6</sup> "Vietnam gave any mention of military intervention a bitter aftertaste," correspondent David Broder wrote.<sup>7</sup>

Disillusionment and doubts about the policy of "stability through strength" changed the very foundations of the "political realism" that had guided all U.S. foreign policy behavior until the beginning of the 1970's. This led to the revision of U.S. military strategy, combat patterns and logistics. This was followed by specific measures. In particular, there were reductions in armed forces and overseas bases. There were cuts in allocations for special forces and CIA subdivisions directly involved in "low-intensity conflicts";<sup>8</sup> the emphasis shifted to the creation of a special task force in Washington to plan and implement a more detailed "crisis strategy"<sup>9</sup> and to prepare and update weapons for "high-intensity" military operations.

This was the essence of the "Nixon Doctrine," in which the responsibility of the struggle against national liberation movements was partially relegated to pro-American regimes--so-called "regional policemen." The United States retained the responsibility for operations of a different type, including camouflaged and strictly covert operations combining military assistance with the supervision of subversive activity and reconnaissance operations. This was reflected most clearly in connection with the events in Chile, which were engineered and carried out by the CIA.

The effects of the "post-Vietnam syndrome" in the United States began to disappear gradually in the middle of the 1970's. The Carter Administration's arrival in the White House and the subsequent departure from detente affected the United States' military approach to Latin America and to conflicts in the region. One of the distinctive features of Carter's foreign policy was the attempt to "correct" these situations at the expense of Soviet-American relations, on the condition of concessions by the USSR and so forth. The organizational bases for future intervention, the bricks of the "updated crisis strategy" presupposing the broad-scale use of armed forces, were gradually laid.

Elements of three documents combined to make up the "analytical" basis of this U.S. policy in relations with southern neighbors: the two reports of the Linowitz Commission and the report of the Washington Institute for Policy Studies' task force on Latin America.<sup>10</sup>

Hiding behind the slogans of the "human rights" campaign, the Carter Administration tried to combine the tactic of "destabilizing" undesirable regimes with the policy of "pacifying" them and with the "refusal" to support military juntas.

Quite soon, however, it became obvious that priority was being given to increased U.S. military assistance to dictatorships. President Carter approved memorandum No 52, on the basis of which military assistance to the region was increased and contingents of American troops were reinforced. Large-scale naval maneuvers were conducted near Cuban shores at the end of 1978 for the first time in many years. At the end of 1979 the United States began the intensive buildup of its own military "presence" in Central America. American researcher N. Chomsky stressed in one of his books that these unrelated events had a common feature--the improvement of the investment climate or, in other words, the creation of privileges for foreign (primarily American) capital.<sup>11</sup>



According to some reports, Carter seriously considered a possible blockade of Grenada in the fear that the government of Maurice Bishop would choose a policy line too democratic by American standards. At that time, however, the United States preferred to refrain from direct armed action. The new wave of intervention was still in the future, but the interventionist "tumor" began to grow with increasing speed. During this stage, the United States still preferred to fight undeclared wars, particularly against Nicaragua, but primarily with the hands of "others" (we should recall the frenzied attempts to organize "inter-American" intervention to prevent the Sandinist victory).

At the beginning of the 1970's the tendency toward a return to overt interventionism and a more aggressive U.S. foreign policy became increasingly evident. Reagan borrowed Goldwater's slogan "Peace through strength" and made it the keynote of his entire campaign.

Central America became a "testing ground" for the new tougher policy toward developing countries. Many excuses were found to explain why the subregion had suddenly become the focus of Pentagon military strategy. For example, an article in ORBIS stressed that the situation in this part of the world had turned into an "absolute nightmare" for the United States: Either Central American would join the enemy camp or the United States would have to send its own troops there to prevent this. It went on to say: "The alternative of self-destruction not only poses the threat of the establishment" of states "antagonistic to the United States," but could also endanger American interests in the Panama Canal Zone and Caribbean in the future--primarily oil shipments and commercial shipping.<sup>12</sup>

The Republican administration's rigid approach to international problems is regarded as the "projection of American strength" to all parts of the world where the United States has "vital interests." Reagan's new policy in Latin America combines increased military assistance with essentially undeclared wars against Nicaragua and patriotic forces in El Salvador, as well as a move toward the direct use of force. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of Reagan's Central American policy is the fact that U.S. interventionism is now hardly being concealed at all. There have been no attempts to camouflage (as in the 1960's and 1970's) Washington's imperious aims. "The significant change in Reagan Administration policy toward Central America," N. Chomsky stressed, "is not confined to the support of a gang of murderers. Carter did this too. It is more likely the attempt to escalate the situation to the point of international crisis."<sup>13</sup>

Nevertheless, as soon as the smell of gunpowder grew this strong, the military establishment, public opinion and, under public pressure, many congressmen still remembered the "lessons of Vietnam." This is precisely why the American landing operation in Grenada, which seems so minor in comparison to the Latin American intervention in the past, required such lengthy and painstaking preparations, and this is why it took so long to choose the "grounds" for the invasion. The engineering of this operation essentially began in 1981, during the "Ocean Venture-81" U.S. naval exercises. In 1983, when the decision to invade had already been made, all of the details of the operation were carefully worked out in advance. On 17 October (the invasion began on

25 October) an amphibious landing force left Norfolk, on 19 October a multi-purpose carrier task force made up of 11 ships and auxiliary vessels and led by the carrier "Independence" set sail, and on 21 October both forces were ordered to proceed to the Grenada zone in a state of total radio silence. Reconnaissance flights by U.S. planes over the region were intensified on 21 October. Therefore, by the time the decision was made, all of the preparations had already been completed. The landing itself was conducted by special American troops, the "Rangers," parachutists of the 82d Airborne Division, Marines and a small symbolic contingent of troops representing the Organization of East Caribbean States. The latter was supposed to give the intervention the semblance of an "international action." The Pentagon had almost 15 times the personnel strength of Grenada's small army, not to mention its superiority in materiel.<sup>14</sup>

In itself, this action, which was intended to smother a tiny and virtually unarmed state, was a purely propagandistic way of demonstrating American "determination" and military "muscle." It was no coincidence that after the intervention in Grenada, Reagan said: "The days of our weakness are behind us. Our armed forces are back on their feet and are standing tall."<sup>15</sup> Secretary of State G. Shultz stressed that "this is a turning point in history. Now we have shown the whole world that we intend to protect our interests at any cost."

This overt return to interventionism evoked different responses even among Americans. "Within a few months," PROGRESSIVE magazine commented, for example, "the invasion of Grenada will probably be seen as a sign of American weakness, and not strength. The great powers will come down off their pedestals when threats of violence are not enough to keep the rest in line. If a country strives to hold on to its strong position only by resorting to the use of force, this means its end is already drawing near. There is a big difference between having a 'big stick' and using it."

#### The Nature of the Evolution of Military Intervention

The evolution of American interventionism probably can be seen most clearly through an analysis of changes in the provisions of military doctrine on "low-intensity conflicts." Let us compare some U.S. Army field manuals: the 1967 and 1972 manuals (FM-31-23). Stabilization Operations. U.S. Army Doctrine, 1974 Field Manual (FM-100-20). Internal Defense and Development and 1976 Field Manual (FM-100-5). Operations.<sup>16</sup> Terminological differences are immediately apparent. Whereas prior to 1972 the "creation of a stable international environment" was discussed, the 1974 field manual already mentions the "assistance of friendly nations" in their own interest. In 1976 the matter was stated differently: The role of the U.S. Armed Forces in conflict situations was viewed in a different way. Prior to the defeat in Vietnam, the use of massive forces was planned. The 1972 field manual envisages a three-stage buildup of controlled participation by American armed forces. If necessary, advisers already in a country who "needed" help could be joined by specialized forces. Subsequent troop reinforcements would be brigades transferred from overseas bases. Finally, if this should be "deemed" insufficient, other formations on the brigade level would be transferred from the United States. In 1974 these regulations still acknowledged that most of the

combat responsibility should be borne by the countries receiving the assistance, and intervention by U.S. Armed Forces was stipulated in terms of material and technical supplies and air and naval support. Ground support was reserved for "special cases." In 1976 there was no longer any emphasis on "covert operations," and all references to intervention in Third World countries were worded as vaguely as possible.

The very approach to this matter also changed. International conflicts are regarded as something like echoes of the cold war in the 1967 and 1972 field manuals. In 1974 there were already direct references to the protection of American interests. It is indicative that this erased the distinction between intervention and aggression.

On this basis, American literature, particularly special publications,<sup>17</sup> have recently suggested the need for a more precisely worded U.S. offensive strategy meeting the requirements of the mid-1980's. "What we need," H. Foster wrote in the STRATEGIC REVIEW, "is the acknowledgement of intervention as a legal and necessary instrument of governmental control...." Besides this, the author said, the specific criteria of military decision-making should be worked out.

Secretary of Defense C. Weinberger formulated some of them: the prevention of aggressive actions against the United States and its allies, the protection of the interests of the United States and its citizens abroad, guaranteed access to vitally important resources throughout the world, etc. As we can see, almost all U.S. interventionist aims have been formulated in unambiguous terms.

Special functions have been assigned to the so-called "Special Forces" (SF) of the U.S. Army, created more than 30 years ago. This was originally a small military formation, numbering 2,811 men in 1959,<sup>18</sup> for example, and engaged primarily in the training of servicemen in states "friendly" to the United States. In 1968 the SF already numbered 11,000 men.

Between 1975 and the end of 1983 the United States sent 532 teams to 58 countries to work on military assistance programs. Career SF servicemen constituted their nucleus. With consideration for the growing scales of the undeclared war in Central America, General E. Meyer, then U.S. Army chief of staff, approved a long-range plan in 1982 for the development and modernization of the Special Forces, including the creation of the first U.S. Army special operational command, which united all special forces under a single command for the first time. The program envisages the qualitative buildup of these forces and a quantitative increase of another 1,200 men. The SF military advisers are training Central American armies and terrorist anti-Nicaraguan groups. In July 1983 alone, a large group of SF advisers went to Honduras, El Salvador and some other Latin American countries.

The "rapid deployment force" (RDF), which was not originally intended for use in the western hemisphere, has also become an instrument of U.S. interventionism in Central America. Created on the basis of "Directive 18" in 1977, it was developed further under the Republican administration. By the beginning of 1983 the RDF was made up of three divisions, several separate brigades, SF units and ground support systems, 11 tactical aviation wings (over 700 planes), 28 strategic bombers, 3 aircraft carrier task forces, etc.



The RDF is now being used widely in Central America. In summer 1983 American naval ships, the aircraft carrier "Ranger" and eight large ships with 5,000 Marines on board, were sent to the Pacific coast of Nicaragua "for half a year." The 1983 U.S. military budget included 21 million dollars to finance the modernization of Pentagon air force bases in the Caribbean for their possible use by the RDF.<sup>19</sup> Finally, the intervention against Grenada was conducted primarily by RDF units.

In December 1981 the Pentagon decided to build up the so-called Caribbean expeditionary force created in 1979. A new "Caribbean Command" was formed.<sup>20</sup> It was supposed to plan and direct U.S. actions in conflict situations and to be Washington's "eyes and ears" in the region.<sup>21</sup> The Atlantic Command is responsible for the naval support of these forces.

One of the main bases of U.S. naval and airborne forces in the region, including the Caribbean force, is Key West (in Florida). The base was closed in 1974, but now it has undergone extensive remodeling. New squadrons of combat planes and Marine subunits have been transferred there. American combat maneuvers are conducted almost continuously in the Gulf of Mexico, the Second Fleet has been reinforced and the base in Puerto Rico is being modernized.<sup>22</sup> The base in the Panama Canal Zone has been remodeled. This was the birthplace of the "U.S. Southern Command," which is essentially an autonomous army with a theater of operations encompassing the Caribbean zone and Central America. This is an entire military complex with nuclear missiles, submarine bases and powerful radar equipment. A new naval base has been established on the island of Amapala in the Gulf of Fonseca, the coast of which belongs to Honduras, El Salvador and Nicaragua. American destroyers "assigned" to the base are equipped with the latest electronic devices to monitor all radio communications in the region. Their presence near the island violates the 1916 international agreement forbidding the military ships of "third" countries to enter the Gulf of Fonseca without the consent of all three states.

Combined U.S., English and Dutch naval exercises were held in the Caribbean in April and May 1983 with the participation of 80 combat ships and around 400 airplanes. The "Big Pine-2" naval exercises, unprecedented in Central American history, began in July and involved RDF contingents and three U.S. naval carrier task forces.<sup>23</sup> Besides this, AWACS planes from Tinker Air Force Base in Oklahoma have been making regular flights to collect information about air traffic over Central America. In all, according to the Spanish EFE agency, there are more than 35,000 American servicemen in Central America. Besides this, 40 naval ships are patrolling the shores of Nicaragua.

All of this has been accompanied by increased military assistance to dictatorships. For example, the administration requested the following amounts from the Congress for 1984: 500,000 dollars in the form of subsidies and 100,000 in military assistance for Belize; 55 million in subsidies, 30 million in credit for military shipments and 1.3 million in military assistance for El Salvador; 250,000 dollars in military assistance and 10 million in credit for Guatemala; 40 million in subsidies and 1 million in military assistance for Honduras.<sup>24</sup>

The CIA is playing a much more important role in interventionist operations. "Stimulated by a powerful stream of dollars, the CIA (the budget of this secret service will increase at a rate of 17 percent a year, or even more quickly than the Pentagon budget)," Italy's PANORAMA magazine reported, "quickly gained strength." A few months ago a congressional subcommittee accidentally "discovered" the presence of a small army under the command of CIA headquarters in Langley. It is called the "army intelligence support service" and consists of several amphibious subunits trained for "impossible missions."

Many reports indicate, however, that the CIA is vigorously performing completely realistic functions in Central America in close interaction with other U.S. military agencies. According to NEWSWEEK magazine, CIA agents are annually spending over 80 million dollars just on operations against Nicaragua (the training of around 10,000 saboteurs, the organization of air and sea raids on various targets and the funding of propaganda campaigns). The "death squadrons" in El Salvador, responsible for 80 percent of the political assassinations in this country, are acting in concert with the CIA. This CIA "job description" could be continued, but this is not the main thing. As a substitute for military units, the CIA participated directly in planning and carrying out interventionist actions in the region and is becoming the main link of U.S. international terrorism.

Whereas the emphasis in "low-intensity conflicts" was previously placed primarily on blitzkrieg "surgical" operations of a "preventive" and sporadic nature, and then on stronger "covert" military pressure, now--and this is a new feature, added by Reagan--"protracted non-nuclear war" or various types of protracted combat operations in the developing world are envisaged. Various methods of the internationalization of conflict situations (for example, the landing in Nicaragua combined with the naval blockade of Cuba) and the possibility of supplementing ("geographic escalation" to divert attention) or "linking" one conflict with another, in a different part of the world, are being carefully modeled and analyzed.

Of course, certain members of U.S. ruling circles feel apprehensive about this because they believe that the creation of "low-intensity conflicts" leads to devastating failures and inevitable mass-scale intervention by ground forces.<sup>25</sup> Dozens of conflicts still exist side by side, however. The shadow of the current White House administration looms over most of these conflicts, and Reagan is fully determined to lengthen this shadow. He likes to repeat Theodore Roosevelt's advice to treat Latin America with "an iron hand in a velvet glove."

The reinstated interventionism, regardless of its carefully calculated framework, is the result of the United States' severely adventurist policy in the international arena. It reflects an attempt to "replay" past defeats, and this will lead to future defeats. This is an objective process. On the one hand, the people in the developing countries are saying "no" to the American "world order." On the other, the possibility of forcing it on them by means of "power politics" is disappearing. The future depends on peace and equitable cooperation by nations, and not on American stereotypes, violence and intervention.



#### FOOTNOTES

6. G. C. Herring, "America's Longest War. The United States and Vietnam. 1965-1975," New York, 1979, p 265.
7. THE WASHINGTON POST, 22 March 1975.
8. The term "low-intensity conflict," which is widely used in American military and political literature, was coined by famous political scientists George Osborn and William Taylor in one of their unpublished reports. It denotes conflicts taking the form of rebellions, civil wars, etc.--"Lessons from an Unconventional War. Reassessing U.S. Strategies for Future Conflicts," New York, 1982, p 191.
9. Theodore Shackley, one of the leading experts on "special operations" by U.S. armed forces, wrote in his book "The Third Option" that the U.S. ability to conduct interventionist actions had "declined to the point of inaction." As a result, the United States lost its ability to control world affairs by escalating "crisis situations." Military reassessments eventually led to changes in the methods of conducting "crisis strategy" toward their more flexible combination with other areas of foreign policy--T. Shackley, "The Third Option," New York, 1981, p 19.
10. "The Americans in a Changing World (Including the Report of the Commission on United States-Latin American Relations, with a Preface by Sol M. Linowitz)," New York, 1975; "The United States and Latin America: The Next Steps," New York, 1976; "The Southern Connection: Recommendations for a New Approach to Inter-American Relations," Washington, 1977.
11. N. Chomsky, "Toward a New Cold War: Essays on the Current Crises and How We Got There," London, 1982, p 207.
12. ORBIS, Philadelphia, 1982, No 2, p 312.
13. N. Chomsky, J. Steele and J. Gittings, "Superpowers in Collision. The New Cold War," Harmondsworth, 1982, p 20.
14. TIME, New York, 1983, No 27, p 13.
15. ARMY, Arlington, 1983, Vol 33, No 12, pp 29, 30.
16. MILITARY REVIEW, Kansas, 1981, Vol LXI, No 2, pp 61-71; 1983, Vol LXIII, No 11, pp 42-48.
17. STRATEGIC REVIEW, Washington, 1983, Vol XI, No 4, p 48; R. Osgood, "Limited War Revisited," Boulder, 1979, p 85; "Lessons from an Unconventional War," p 207.
18. ARMY, 1983, Vol 33, No 10, p 247.

19. V. M. Men'shikov and P. V. Men'shikov, "'Sily bystrogo razvertyvaniya' vo vneshney politike SShA" [The Rapid Deployment Force in U.S. Foreign Policy], Moscow, 1984, p 87.
20. NATIONAL DEFENSE, Arlington, 1983, Vol LXVIII, No 389, p 33.
21. Ibid., 1981, Vol LXVIII, No 386, p 48.
22. LE MONDE, Paris, 14 March 1981.
23. SShA: EKONOMIKA, POLITIKA, IDEOLOGIYA, 1984, No 1, p 32.
24. At the end of November 1983 the Congress approved the allocation of 24 million dollars for anti-Sandinist actions (credit the House of Representatives had refused to give the government just 2 months earlier) and an additional 64 million dollars in military assistance to the Salvadoran junta.
25. Experts disagree on the number of U.S. expeditionary troops needed, for example, for the occupation of Nicaragua. Some have said it would take 150,000-250,000 people. Director Richard Barnett of the Institute for Policy Studies, however, believes that starting a war against Nicaragua would be easier than ending it. Even if the "U.S. expeditionary corps should be able to seize Managua and drag the Sandinists into the mountains," he wrote in PROGRESSIVE magazine, "the result would be constant civil war for the lifetime of one or two generations."

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## INTERNATIONAL

### ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION ON PARAGUAYAN 'CRISIS' HELD

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 7, Jul 84 (signed to press 8 Jun 84)  
pp 43-58

[Report on round table discussion in journal editorial office: "The Crisis of the Dictatorship in Paraguay"]

[Excerpts] "Paraguay has already entered a transition period," SENDERO, a magazine published by the Conference of Paraguayan Bishops, commented not long ago. "The distinctive feature of this period is that the dictatorship has not lost its power yet, but it has already lost its authority in society." The 72-year-old dictator, who is now occupying the highest office in the state for his seventh presidential term in a row, never had any authority among the people. The rest of this statement about the domestic political situation, however, is objective. It is true that Paraguay, just as other countries of the Southern Hemisphere, has entered a period of transition. The authoritarian regimes resting on "national security doctrines" are becoming a thing of the past.

Paraguay's current problems were the topic of discussion when Soviet experts on Latin American affairs met in the journal's editorial office with a delegation of Paraguayan communists, headed by Ananias Maidana Palacios, member of the Political Commission of the Paraguayan Communist Party (PCP) Central Committee. Our readers should be interested in the following account of this discussion.

#### A. Maidana Palacios

The movement for the economic and political demands of the laboring public, which is closely associated with the struggle to overthrow the Stroessner dictatorship, has recently become stronger in Paraguay. Many facts and events testify to the heightened consciousness and militancy of the masses. This is intensifying the political crisis the country has been experiencing for many years.

The development of the economy on the basis of large-scale latifundism under the conditions of dependence on imperialism quite clearly attests to the deep-seated contradictions that are shattering the country's archaic socioeconomic structure. The dictatorship itself is still one of the main factors inhibiting the growth of productive forces and the resolution of severe social conflicts. The crisis of this dictatorship, compounded by the slow and deformed development of capitalism, cannot be overcome with the aid of simple reforms. This will require sweeping democratic, anti-imperialist and agrarian transformations.

The communists of Paraguay believe that conditions in the country are ripe for a democratic revolution with the aim of national and social liberation. Its main historic objective must be the overthrow of the regime and the achievement of sweeping political liberties, and its generators must be the working class, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie and middle urban strata. Since these classes and social groups suffer the most from the existing system of exploitation, they have the greatest interest in the institution of radical socioeconomic and political reforms and the elimination of the authoritarian regime which grants privileges only to an exclusive group of the dictator's flunkies.

The consistent and uncompromising nature of CPC demands and the unshakeable courage of its leaders and rank-and-file members have aroused the rabid hatred of the ruling regime. It is no coincidence that the dictatorship is directing most of its attacks at communists. Even in their torture-chambers, however, these butchers cannot break the will of our comrades. The revolutionary firmness of First Secretary Antonio Maidana of the PCP Central Committee is particularly inspiring. When he was in prison, he did not stop fighting for a single day.

The Paraguayan people, just as the people of other countries who are fighting for their national and social liberation, know that progressive forces throughout the world support their struggle. Only the international support of our just cause saved the lives of hundreds of fighters against tyranny. Today the liberation of Antonio Maidana is an integral part of the struggle to overthrow the dictatorship.

Candidate of Economic Sciences P. N. Boyko (Institute of Latin America--ILA)

The present economic crisis in Paraguay and in the majority of other Latin American countries is largely a result and an element of the general crisis of the world capitalist system. In Paraguay, however, the crisis is distinguished by some conflicts that are more severe than in other states of the continent. The reason is that the political regime is objectively preventing the development of productive forces in an already underdeveloped economy.

For many years, particularly during the period of the Stroessner dictatorship, the economy developed too slowly. In the 1950's and 1960's the average annual growth rates in the country were far below the indicators for Latin America as a whole. The gross domestic product (GDP) did not reach the 1939 level until the beginning of the 1970's. In Paraguay, just as in Haiti, agriculture accounts for most of the GDP: a share 3 times as great as the average for the continent (30.4 percent and 10.8 percent respectively in 1980).



This is due primarily to the country's anachronistic socioeconomic structure. Stroessner holds the dubious title of a loyal adherent, if not the inventor, of the "outside growth" formula announced back in 1954. This economic "model" is the main obstacle impeding the development of domestic socioeconomic structures.

The onesided orientation of exports was supposed to increase the semifeudal rent payments collected by the landowner oligarchy and comprador bourgeoisie. "Outside growth" stimulated the parasitical appetites of latifundists and merchants and doomed the already small domestic market to inevitable stagnation. By opening the door to foreign capital, it led to the stagnation of national industry, which had begun to develop during a period of favorable conditions during and after World War II and at the time of the tendency to pursue an import substitution policy.

Rent payments, collected mainly from the peasantry in a process of systematic robbery, constitute the basis of the power of dominant classes. The products appropriated by the latifundists and sold by them in the international market and the income derived from black market operations and from participation in the speculative transactions of international financial capital allow many members of the ruling elite to keep large deposits in banks in the United States, Switzerland and other developed capitalist states.

In spite of the disastrous effects of "outside growth," industrial production and the workers in this sector gradually began to play a more important role in the economy. By the middle of the 1970's the construction of the Itaipu GES began to have a significant effect on economic development. The mobilization of workers for its construction increased the number of hired laborers, expanded the domestic market and accelerated the disintegration of the barter economy, bringing about some changes in the socioeconomic structure. The auxiliary production units, services, trade enterprises and other entities engendered by the Itaipu project led to the growth of certain segments of the bourgeoisie.

Since the middle of the last decade, when the Itaipu construction project was progressing at full speed, the rate of increase in the GDP reached 10 percent some years. But by 1982, according to the data of the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), there was an absolute decrease of 2.5 percent in the Paraguayan GDP--a decrease almost 3 times as high as the indicator for Latin America as a whole (0.9 percent). According to the information of the Paraguayan Statistics Bank, the economic slump became apparent in 1979. Later it encompassed virtually all sectors of the economy, particularly industry and the service sphere.

Economic difficulties are directly exacerbating the sociopolitical crisis of the regime. The inevitability of the dictatorship's downfall in the near future is self-evident. Stroessner's stooges realize this, and so do the members of the bourgeois opposition who are suggesting various solutions to these urgent problems. Truly progressive reforms, however, will be impossible without fundamental socioeconomic and political changes in the interests of all the people. Only the unity and united action of all democratic and



patriotic forces in the country, headed by the most consistent fighters against the corrupt, bloodthirsty, pro-imperialist regime, will lead to the radical structural changes needed for the genuine social and national liberation of the long-suffering people of Paraguay.

Candidate of Historical Sciences V. A. Kharitonov (ILA)

For many years, Paraguay and Brazil have disagreed over the ownership of the territory where the Guaira Falls are located. This is one of the world's largest sources of cheap hydroelectric power. In June 1965 the adjacent territory (approximately 20 kilometers in depth) was even occupied temporarily by Brazilian troops.

Continuing the colonization of this region, Brazil settled around 120,000 people there, mainly peasants and demobilized soldiers. They occupy a territory, purchased mainly by Brazilian landowners, stretching 100 kilometers into this region. The Stroessner Government did not take any resolute steps against the Brazilian colonization. Branches of Brazilian companies, Belo Horizonte, Mendes Junior, Cotera and others, were opened in the Amambai, Mondai, Guaira and other regions in the early 1970's. In December 1975 the so-called "first industrial region" was established, mainly through the funds of Brazilian investors, in Pedro Juan Caballero, where financial operations were conducted primarily by a branch of the Banco Real do Brasil. The cruzeiro became the unit of currency and Portuguese became the main language. In view of the fact that there are now half a million Brazilians here, representing around 95 percent of the population, this region could be called something like an enclave on Paraguayan territory.

Brazil's position, supported by transnational corporations, was reinforced mainly by the construction of a hydroelectric power station on the Parana River. According to the April 1973 "Itaipu Agreement," Brazil participated with Paraguay in the construction of this hydraulic power complex, the world's largest. Its projected capacity is 12.6 million kilowatts. The projected cost was 3-3.5 billion dollars, two-thirds to be financed by Brazil and one-third by Paraguay through foreign loans. The project was to be completed in 1982. The Paraguayan Government issued a decree on 10 September 1974 to exempt all construction operations from taxes and duties.

The plans for the project underwent significant changes, however, after the work began. Inflation, higher interest rates and the higher cost of equipment and materials increased construction expenditures to 14 billion dollars, with 9 billion representing the real cost and 5 billion representing interest payments on loans. The completion of the project was postponed until 1989. Besides this, part of the electricity was earmarked for Brazilian enterprises which are being built in Paraguay and have close ties to transnational corporations.

These corporations enjoy exceptional influence in this region. In accordance with a May 1974 act on the establishment of a Brazilian-Paraguayan society for the construction of the GES, its consultants became the American International Engineering Company and the Italian Electroconsult CPA. The work is being

financed by the Inter-American Development Bank, Morgan Guaranty Trust Company of New York, Chase Manhattan Ltd., Citibank of New York, Bank of Tokyo Ltd. and Eletrobras, the Brazilian state company, also mainly with foreign loans. The 40,000 Paraguayan peasants who were hired for the project (20,000 for construction and 20,000 for jobs in foreign companies) are being trained by American specialists. The Itaipu construction contract was awarded to the Siem consortium, which includes the West German concern Siemens and Wottech and the French Creusot Loire and Alsom Atlantique. It also includes General Electric and branches of U.S. monopolies in Brazil, Bardela and Mecanica Pesada.

Most of the equipment (98 percent) has come from Brazil. Paraguay has supplied only materials--wood, sand, fire clay and part of the cement--and cheap labor. These data testify conclusively to Paraguay's dependence on the economic, financial and social policy of imperialist monopolies and the Brazilian oligarchy. Furthermore, although Itaipu is considered to be a binational enterprise, the work is being supervised by Brazilian specialists and all construction operations, equipment and electrical power are being paid for in cruzeiros.

News agencies controlled by transnational corporations persistently imply that Paraguay will become one of Latin America's largest exporters of electricity and will earn huge profits after the completion of the Itaipu project. We should consider, however, that the agreement envisages the transmission of "extra" energy only to Brazil for 50 years, mainly to the Sao Paulo industrial complex, without the right to export it to other countries, and at cost--that is, at one-thirteenth the world price (by the terms of the compensatory transaction). Paraguay will only be able to use 2 or 3 percent of its 50-percent share of the electrical power (6.3 million kilowatts) because no significant industrial development requiring this much energy is anticipated in the near future. By buying electricity at cost, Brazil will save up to 5 billion dollars a year, while Paraguay will receive only 5 percent of this amount--around 250 million dollars.

For all of these reasons, the main opposition parties and organizations in Paraguay and the Paraguayan bishops feel that the Itaipu agreement is one-sided and unfair and that it restricts the sovereignty of their motherland.

Candidate of Historical Sciences A. Ye. Shokina (ILA)

The 30 years of Paraguay's domination by a repressive military dictatorship were made possible by the high concentration of power in the hands of the reactionary military elite, who have pursued an undemocratic and antinational policy in the interests of the landed oligarchy and imperialist monopolies, and by the attempts to adapt to the requirements of capitalist modernization. In the 1970's, the oldest of the continent's dictatorships, following the lead of the military authoritarian regimes of neighboring states, began to consolidate the "open" economic "model" based on the demands of transnational corporations and the foreign market, and not on national needs.

The attempts to accomplish the capitalist modernization of Paraguay under the conditions of external dependence and domination by a dictatorship only

deformed the socioeconomic structure, allowed transnational corporations to penetrate key sectors of the economy, merged the interests of the previously omnipotent latifundists with those of speculative-financial foreign (primarily Brazilian and Argentine) and local capital, strengthened the mediating role of government bureaucrats and concentrated wealth in the hands of new segments of the ruling bloc. As a result, classes connected with the domestic market--the industrial bourgeoisie and proletariat--grew much more slowly than in neighboring countries. It was no coincidence that more than half of the economically active population emigrated. Therefore, despite the fairly high rate of increase in the GDP over the last decade, Paraguay is still one of the most socially underdeveloped countries in Latin America.

The intensification of socioeconomic contradictions was one of the reasons for the Stroessner dictatorship's current political crisis. It is reflected in the regime's inability to govern by its previous methods with the aid of mass repression, in the radical reduction of its sociopolitical base, in the intensification of conflicts within the ruling bloc and in the reduction of foreign support under the conditions of the changing political climate on the continent, particularly in some of its southernmost states. Almost all strata of Paraguayan society oppose the dictatorship--businessmen, peasants, workers, students and Catholics. The motives for their dissatisfaction differ: the corruption of the dictator's closest associates, the continuous mass repression, the absence of civil and political rights and the financial and economic stagnation. Businessmen advocate the use of electrical power in the national interests and oppose speculation, the abuse of power by the overgrown bureaucracy and, sometimes, even the economic policy of the government in general.

The mounting dissatisfaction is reflected in actions by trade unions, agrarian leagues, women's organizations, human rights defense committees and religious associations. At the end of the 1970's the dictatorship had to agree to some concessions: It had to free some political prisoners and allow some exiled opposition leaders to return to their homeland. But the forces opposing the regime did not let up in their struggle. They have reorganized their ranks and are using new forms of protest, even to the point of boycotting parliamentary business and presidential elections, influencing public opinion through the media and exposing the corrupt repressive system and closest associates of the dictator.

The legal opposition is no longer satisfied with the parliamentary facade that has officially screened the dictatorship since 1968. Four bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties--the Radical Liberal Party, the People's Colorado Movement, the Febrerista Revolutionary Party (a member of the Socialist Internationale) and the Christian Democratic Party--withdrew from Parliament and formed a "real opposition" bloc in 1978 to boycott the presidential election. The establishment of the National Accord was an important step toward united action, not for the sake of compromises with the dictatorship but in the name of democracy. Although this association has not put forth any concrete program of socioeconomic and political reforms, its formation is of great significance in the development of democratic public opinion.



Two more centers of antidictatorial forces have recently made their appearance--the National Political Accord and the Paraguayan Accord in Exile. The first is supposed to unite the actions of opposition political forces, trade unions, progressive Catholic groups and other public organizations. The second is made up of all of Paraguay's illegal parties, including the PCP. The communists are striving to coordinate their actions with all of the members of the antidictatorial opposition under the slogan "Union and Equality." There are also other organizations advocating political change.

Although Stroessner was recently "elected" president for the seventh time, he has had to resort more often to maneuvers and to walk a tightrope between various political groups. Even members of the government Colorado party and the military elite have expressed dissatisfaction with the dictator's policies. They have condemned the corruption of Stroessner's closest associates and are making contact with the opposition. The changing mood of some generals is one of the most indicative signs that the dictatorship is growing weak, because the army was always the dictator's main pillar of support. The regime's increasing isolation within the country and abroad has motivated some members of the military elite to establish contact with the bourgeois opposition to secure their future in the event of possible changes.

The bourgeois opposition is also trying to win the army over to its side. Military leaders are praised for their "moderacy," "neutrality," "loyalty to the institution," "professionalism" and so forth. Counting on the indecision of some bourgeois politicians, Stroessner is trying to lure them back to the bosom of the legal opposition. For example, in response to a letter from the leaders of the Febrerista Revolutionary Party, suggesting that the dictator choose a successor, he allowed exiled members of this party to return to Paraguay. Isolated acts of repression, however, are still being committed against members of the opposition. In May 1983 this happened to economists from a private data bank, financed by Western funds, and the "new era" group in the university school of economics. At that time, the government press also launched a propaganda campaign against the "traitors" who were flirting with "subversive elements."

Obviously, a change in this situation will depend less on the power struggle between various factions of the dominant classes than on the actual balance of class power and the struggle of the broad popular masses.

#### I. V. Devin (State Committee for Television and Radiobroadcasting)

The development of the labor movement in Paraguay is particularly significant in this connection. It underwent three stages of evolution after the establishment of the dictatorship. The first lasted from 1954 to 1963. This was a period of active resistance of the dictatorship by the working class. The main role then was played by the Paraguayan Confederation of Labor (CPT), which took a class position. In 1958 the CPT called a general political strike, which led to fierce and overt conflicts between democratic and reactionary forces. Although the demonstration was suppressed, the intensity of class battles did not die down for several years.

Attempts to organize an armed partisan struggle, participated in by many communists, including workers, were made at the beginning of the 1960's. Workers demonstrated in cities, and one of the largest demonstrations was on May Day in 1961. This stage of democratic resistance lasted until 1963. At that time, Wilfrido Alvarez, a prominent figure in the Paraguayan communist and labor movement, died in battle. In later years the movement against the dictatorship subsided, allowing the regime to strengthen its position in labor unions.

The situation in the labor movement in subsequent years was connected with the accelerated development of capitalist relations and the unprecedented increase in terror. Relying on the "help" of fugitive Nazi criminals and the recommendations of American advisers, Stroessner was able to create a diversified and effective repressive system, distinguished by incredible brutality. The inhuman torture and persecution of patriots inflicted substantial losses on the working class and intelligentsia. The PCP experienced a split at this time, and it had an adverse effect on the subsequent struggle of the proletariat. Stroessner took advantage of this situation to put the labor movement under his control. The unions were reorganized to this end. The dictator's proteges were made leaders of the CPT. "Yellow" union bosses sabotaged the workers' struggle for economic demands, expelled the most resolute activists and turned them over to the police. The dictator simultaneously resorted to sweeping social demagoguery, filled with a primitive branch of anticommunism. Members of the PCP were labeled "promoters of an ideology alien to Paraguayan nationalism" and "renegade incendiaries and terrorists."

It was at that time that Stroessner put forth his theory about the "supra-class" nature of the regime, which allegedly expressed the interests of the laboring public. In accordance with the line of depoliticizing the labor movement and integrating it into the existing system, the Social Security Institute and Labor Bank were established for the "welfare" of the workers. These corruption-ridden organizations were financed with the money of the workers but were actually feeding-troughs for the union bureaucracy. For example, on the salary of medical personnel, bureaucrats hired maids, chauffeurs for their private cars, gardeners, private nurses, etc. Labor Bank credits fell into the pockets of speculators and smugglers. The intensity of the workers' struggle was also partially abated at this time by the emigration of many skilled workers for political and economic reasons.

By the middle of the 1970's the situation in the labor movement began to change. Large industrial construction projects, particularly the Itaipu GES, increased the number of proletarians, especially construction workers. The strikes organized by communist Ruben Gonzalez when the Acarai hydroelectric plant was being built were the first sign of the intensification of this struggle. In 1975 he was kidnapped at the same time as outstanding Paraguayan revolutionary Miguel Angel Soler and communist youth leader Derlis Villagra. But repression could not stop the inevitable radicalization of the labor movement.

The absence of civil rights, inflation, the high cost of living and unemployment aroused the indignation of the workers. Dissatisfaction with the treacherous line of official "leaders" grew within the CPT. This was one of the reasons for the creation of the Movement of Nine Unions and Inter-Union



Committee for Solidarity, uniting 20 sectorial labor organizations. The workers moved from the collection of signatures for petitions to strikes, in which their demands included the improvement of economic conditions, the cessation of the persecution of union activists and the acknowledgment of the legal rights of independent labor organizations. The recent strike at the Coca-Cola enterprise, which was discussed by Ananias Maidana, was indicative in this connection.

Although the repression is still going on, objective conditions in the country are ripe for the labor movement's progression to a higher stage. The economic crisis is growing more severe, and the rates of unemployment and inflation are rising. According to the trade unions of construction workers and bank employees, the current level of wages can satisfy only around one-third of the simplest needs of a worker's family. The 40,000 agricultural workers are in an even worse position. There is little hope of economic recovery. Leading enterprises, such as the Pilar factory and the slaughterhouses, are operating at half their capacity or less. Employment among construction workers will unavoidably decline as the completion of the Itaipu project approaches.

Therefore, the general crisis of the dictatorship and the heightened consciousness of the laboring masses, convinced of the need for change, are establishing the objective prerequisites for a more intense struggle by the workers for their rights.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL MONEY-CREDIT RELATIONS

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pp 122-124

[Report by B. Ye. and V. K. on conferences in Moscow Institute of Finance on  
22 and 23 November 1983]

[Text] A scientific conference was held in the Moscow Institute of Finance (MFI) on 22 and 23 November 1983 to discuss current problems in international money and credit relations. It was attended by representatives of the USSR Ministry of Finance, USSR Gosbank, the USSR Foreign Trade Bank, CEMA and its specialized agencies, institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences, higher academic institutions and other organizations.

Current monetary and credit problems in the developing world, including Latin America, occupied a central place on the conference agenda. New developments in the export of loan capital from developed countries to developing states were analyzed by Doctor of Economic Sciences S. A. Bylinyak (Oriental Studies Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences). Loans on market terms became the prevailing form of export in the 1970's. At the beginning of the 1980's the flow of loan capital to the developing countries diminished. The speaker emphasized the uneven nature of the inclusion of young states in the international loan capital market and singled out the following factors influencing this process: the intensification of disparities in the payment balances of oil-importing countries; the growth of the oil revenues of OPEC states; the declining demand of monopolies for loan capital in connection with the reduction of their investment activity. As a result of the closer involvement of developing countries in the international credit system, at the end of 1982 the international monetary crisis began to gather momentum on the periphery of the world capitalist economy for the first time. According to Bylinyak, these upheavals stemmed from structural and cyclical factors in their interrelations.

Doctor of Economic Sciences Yu. M. Osipov (Africa Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences) discussed the reorganization of the world capitalist currency system and new trends in international monetary relations between developed and developing countries. These include the more rigid position of imperialist centers on the democratic reorganization the developing countries want in the world currency system; the developed West's attempts to intensify IMF activity as an instrument of neocolonialism; the inclusion of transnational banks in

imperialism's global strategy in the peripheral zone of the world capitalist economy; the attempts to cause disagreements within the "group of 77" with regard to monetary reform and other aspects of the struggle for the new international economic order; the West's use of foreign trade to heighten the structural dependence of developing countries on the centers of the world capitalist economy.

At the conference it was underscored that the destabilization of the financial position of developing states, particularly the Latin American countries, is closely connected with the crisis in the world capitalist economy, which is undermining the position of the newly liberated states in capitalism's international monetary system. Candidate of Economic Sciences N. A. Makasheva (INION [Institute of Scientific Information on the Social Sciences]) discussed the role of the United States in the escalation of financial problems in the developing world. President Reagan's anti-inflationary program and measures to revitalize the economy, in which the key element is the maintenance of high interest rates, have led to much worse credit terms for developing states and have increased their foreign debt. Reduction of the U.S. share of credit resources in international credit and financial institutions also had adverse effects. The Latin American countries, whose economies were more closely connected to the United States, found themselves at the epicenter of the financial crisis. The speaker stressed that the broader scales of the activity of American industrial and banking monopolies in the region are not only exacerbating the already critical state of finances on the continent, but are also creating the possibility of even more serious upheavals in the future.

Several speakers noted that the heightened instability of the capitalist monetary system at the beginning of the 1980's affected IMF activity. For example, Candidate of Economic Sciences N. N. Ivin (MFI) said that, on the one hand, more credit was extended to developing countries, which is in the interest of Western monopolist circles in general, now that they are worried about the excessive foreign indebtedness of these countries. For this reason, it is not surprising that the IMF extended new credit primarily to Brazil, Mexico, Argentina and Venezuela--that is, to the countries in the most difficult position. On the other hand, stricter political conditions were imposed on the extension of credit, and this was specifically reflected in the loan extended to Argentina in 1983.

Ya. Ya. Melkumov (Oriental Studies Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences) pointed out the direct connection between the diminished solvency of developing states and the rise of interest rates in the United States and other developed capitalist countries, as well as the higher exchange rate of the American dollar. European banks began to play a more important role in the crediting of developing countries in the 1970's. According to the speaker, commercial banks will continue to be the main creditors in the future. Ye. G. Shakhmatova (Moscow State University) said that the destabilization of the financial position of Latin American countries stemmed largely from external factors: above all, the economic crisis of the world capitalist system in 1980-1982, the decline of world prices on traditional export goods and the rise in interest rates in the international capital market. The constantly mounting difficulties dictate the need for a more intense struggle by the Latin American

countries and other developing states for the reorganization of the world monetary system on a democratic basis. In connection with this, Shakhmatova pointed out the importance of the establishment of a new international economic order in the resolution of the region's foreign indebtedness problems.

Candidate of Economic Sciences Ye. A. Zvonova (Moscow Institute of the National Economy imeni G. V. Plekhanov) revealed the reasons for the constant growth of loans requested by developing countries, particularly the Latin American states, in the European capital market in the 1970's and 1980's. Her report indicated that the Eurocurrency credits of the majority of developing countries will be reduced in connection with the sharp deterioration of their financial position. In contrast to other parts of the developing world, however, Latin America will continue, in spite of its colossal foreign debt, to make active use of Eurocurrency markets to solve urgent economic problems.

Problems in the monetary integration of developing states were analyzed by Candidate of Economic Sciences V. V. Shmelev (USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade Scientific Research Institute of Market Conditions), Candidate of Economic Sciences A. F. Krasavin (MFI), V. I. Shamova (Kiev Institute of the National Economy) and others. Many speakers stressed that the alleviation of the economic difficulties of developing countries would necessitate a more energetic struggle for the radical reorganization of capitalism's entire monetary and financial system. Measures to intensify regional integration could play an important role in this connection. They also underscored the great value of comprehensive and mutually beneficial economic cooperation between developing and socialist countries.

Several speakers analyzed imperialist development "assistance" and revealed its dual nature. On the one hand, this "assistance" is a definite concession to the countries of the "South" in their struggle for a new international economic order. On the other hand, it represents a relatively new and effective means of neocolonial exploitation.

Two scientific collections of conference papers are to be published. These will be of indisputable interest to scientific and practical workers and to anyone concerned about these matters.\*

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\* "Current Problems in International Money and Credit Relations. Scientific Works," an anthology compiled in the MFI, was published at the end of 1983. It is a collection of papers from the first of the series of scientific conferences on this topic (it was held in 1981).



INTERNATIONAL

REAGAN, HITLER COMPARED; 'ANTIAGGRESSION COALITION' URGED

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 38, 19 Sep 84 p 14

[Article by Nikolay Gribachev: "Beginnings and Ends"]

[Text] An "antiaggression coalition" is one of the means of averting nuclear catastrophe. A word to peace-loving peoples.

Hegel once wrote: "The most serious need is the need for knowledge of the truth." This applies to any problem, including the extremely serious matter of the victory over fascism, the fortieth anniversary of which will shortly be celebrated. This is not, of course, for reasons of idle curiosity, but to extract lessons for the practical problems of the present - in order to avert the leap into the abyss by both individual people and whole countries. There is a well known story told by Rabelais: a vindictive joker threw a sheep overboard and the whole flock jumped after it into the abyss of the sea and was drowned. There are malicious jesters ready to throw a sheep overboard and it would appear that the European sheep has been chosen as the first victim, but is mankind prepared to become the obedient flock?

It is necessary to remember and know.

If some Soviet historian tried to claim that Hitler alone and only Hitler engendered fascism and began the second world war, which some historians west of the Elbe assert, by the way, without batting an eyelid, Soviet readers would throw his book onto the garbage heap. And it would serve him right! Everyone agrees, of course, that Hitler was a fanatic nationalist with the morals of a bigot, but it is certainly true of a fanatic too that "the voice of one man is the voice of no one."

At the present time, there is a great deal that is open and documented. This includes the fact that those who brought Hitler to power and who blessed his policy at a special secret meeting were Krupp, Schacht, Tissen and others of that ilk, those mammoths of German banking and business who, in modern terminology, must be called the military-industrial complex. Whoever imagines that Hitler ruled with Aladdin's lamp and created money, weapons and everything needed for war by himself should go to see a doctor immediately, because this is an illness in which phantasmagorias are substituted for reality.

Let us assume that no one today doubts any longer that President Reagan is leading matters to war and is preparing feverishly for war. This is being expressed in many ways: his refusal to conduct any negotiations on easing tensions, his increase of nuclear and chemical potential and even in his threat of "star wars," the transformation of not only the earth, but the whole cosmos, into a battlefield.

Of course, Reagan has the possibility to surpass even Hitler in fanaticism and adventurism. He has the possibility to jabber irresponsibly about "outlawing Russia" and about "bombing it in five minutes." He can even write or formulate his own, new "Mein Kampf." But who would believe that he is like an all-powerful little king of the half-savage Nyam-Nyam tribe and one morning it enters his crazy head to wage war, so in the evening he evilly attacks the neighboring tribe with bows and spears. No one, of course, would believe it. Behind Reagan stand the billionaires, the military-industrial complex and the sinister "tripartite commission." For the most part, he is usually surrounded by millionaires in the leadership of the Republican party and in the government. He advances into the proscenium in the starring role, but who is writing the scenario and who is prompting him?

Koz'ma Prutkov has a wise aphorism: "Look at the root" and - a practical, useful rule for investigations - find out "who benefits from it." For someone interested in establishing the truth about preparations for the second world war and preparations for the third, which have become apparent, it is very useful to apply the two formulas mentioned. Of course, the "classical chorus" of well-paid apologists who surround the president and the noisy "mystery buffs," like a Republican party convention, create a great deal of fog, which prevents seeing things in their true light. But he who seeks will find!

It stands to reason that even the support of Germany's military-industrial complex of that time was not enough for fascism to unleash the second world war. A favorable internal environment was also necessary in order for "the dough to rise." It was created. By whom? How?

Let us say that President Reagan is already talking today about his intention to repudiate the wartime and postwar agreements, resolutions and obligations that took place at Yalta, for example. If earthly laws operated in the world beyond the grave, he would have to pay Hitler a fine for plagiarism, since it was Hitler who began his march to the second world war by abrogating and violating the agreements and resolutions which resulted from the first world war! Did the "high contracting parties," England and France in the first place, protest and counteract? No, they remained silent. And this silence was interpreted by the fuehrer as tacit consent and encouragement.

The Soviet government, sensing the dangerous development of events, promoted a program of disarmament at the League of Nations. But England and France did not support it. Hitler strangled republican Spain, training his wolf

packs, while the Western statesmen of the time devised a "policy of non-interference," which aided and abetted fascism. What was its point? It was childishly simple: "Go ahead, Hitler, press, we will not hinder you!" And Hitler "pressed." In Munich, he demanded that Chamberlain and Daladier deliver their ally, Czechoslovakia, to him to rend; they delivered and betrayed. Then Hitler attacked Poland and the second world war began, but the western politicians at first waged a "strange war." Although their armies had unquestionable superiority in terms of numbers and armaments, they did not attack or engage, but wore out their trousers in their fortifications. This was so absurd that it became the theme of sarcastic cabaret theater songs. That was before there was bitter weeping at graves and ash heaps.

What was it then, political blindness? Of course! But blindness of a particular kind. It was inherited and foisted simultaneously. It had world domination as its aim. For the time being, Hitler was dissembling, vowing and assuring everyone that his purpose was only a struggle with the "danger of Bolshevism," just that! Since anti-bolshevism and anti-sovietism had, for a long time, like a cancerous tumor, been eating away the minds of Western politicians, they easily permitted themselves to put on a blindfold: "We do not see anything," they said... By the way, this means of blinding and self-blinding with the blindfold of anti-communism is being utilized frenziedly up to the present by some Western politicians and their reckless propaganda. What do you see of the world from under such a blindfold? Who suffers worse from this? The beginning of the second world war gave a sufficiently clear reply to this question. In preparing for the third one as well, Western Europe is placed under first strike; it is being crushed economically and politically on the way and the American fetters on its hands are being tightened more each day.

But let us return to the second world war. The aggressors - masters of lies and treachery - walked over any bodies in order to achieve their ends. Hitler, in the first place, fell on those who had thrown him sops: he smashed France and attacked England. It may be said without exaggeration that the fall of Paris, the ruins of Coventry and the blood of Englishmen constitute a sinister monument to the willful blindness of Chamberlain, Daladier and many others.

But is it possible that this is nothing more than a Soviet or pro-Soviet viewpoint? A group of Harvard University researchers wrote a book entitled "Life Under the Threat of Nuclear Arms." There are no more Soviet or pro-Soviet sentiments among these authors than there are possibilities for fish to climb Everest. Nonetheless, giving the true development of events its due, they write: "Great Britain and France, as well as the United States, which was conducting a policy of isolationism, were unable to stop Hitler until 1939 and preferred to indulge him with 'concessions,' which only whetted his appetite." Well, it is true, especially if the expression "were unable" is replaced with "were unwilling," inasmuch as these countries then possessed an unquestionable and overall superiority over Germany.

The Harvard authors write further: "It is necessary to study the reasons for past wars in order to avert war in the future." This is also true - with the necessary addendum that the studies will be conducted by people with clean hands and conscience, not by dealers in forged documents or by ignoramuses who take it upon themselves to solve fourth degree equations, but who cannot multiply three times three.

In a very brief exposition, that is how the preliminary history of the second world war appears. It can be corroborated by a countless number of irrefutable facts. But are all those on the other side of the Elbe interested in the truth about the second world war? There are many there now who, for various reasons, from momentary interests in cash to the blindness of malice, are prepared to tie a stone around the neck of truth and drown it in the sewage ditch of disinformation. For the true national health of every people and universal progress, two very important facts in the preliminary history of the war must be kept in mind: the aggressive union of the German military-industrial complex with fascism and the anti-sovietism of the Western politicians of that time, who played give-away with Hitlerism, had a single purpose: to aim the muzzles of fascist guns at Moscow. Whoever does not understand this will never understand anything about either the past or the present.

The situation that the Western politicians of that time had gotten themselves into is well known. It is difficult to imagine in detail what those of their present successors will get themselves into who help the American cowboy to mount into the saddle and who plan to move into the future holding on to the tail of his horse. But what will remain of the "European theater" of action after a nuclear war is clear.

The events of the second world war themselves also require honest research. Let us say that some Western historians do their utmost to try and equalize the significance the ordinary clash at El-Alamein and the great battle of Stalingrad. At the battle of Stalingrad, however, there were not about ten divisions participating, but an army of millions with the highest concentration of arms and technology. There were more prisoners captured than there were troops on both sides at El-Alamein! Moreover, after El-Alamein, the Hitlerites continued the war as though nothing had happened, while after the crushing defeat at Stalingrad, they were unable to win a single large-scale battle. We give fitting recognition to the courage of the allied troops; combat is combat everywhere and courage is courage, but why do the historians of the West look at one event through a telescope and at another through the wrong end of a pair of binoculars? Such games are excusable for children, but not for adults who have pretensions to the lofty rank of scholarly annalists.

There are two other aspects which Western historians and politicians should take into account in order to avoid dangerous errors.



Hitler, bearing in mind the multi-national character of the Soviet Union and ascribing the ideological unity of the Soviet people to a kind of propaganda trick asserted, as is well known, that the Soviet state is no more than a "colossus with feet of clay." This cost him dearly! The mighty unity of the multi-national Soviet people and its readiness to defend the socialist way of life at the cost of any sacrifice was an indestructible barrier.

Yes, we lost twenty million of the various nationalities inhabiting our country, who were dear to all our people. Yes, these losses constitute our everlasting pain and our radiant memory. But these losses do not constitute only tragedy, pain and radiant memory; they have another facet which should be taken into account by everyone: the courage and heroism which was admired during the war in the West as well. The principle that it is better to die for the socialist fatherland standing than to live on one's knees is not subject to time, bullets or fire. People conduct battles regardless of the weapons used and every sober-minded commander is aware of what indestructible strength their spirit and conviction constitute. The Americans should remember this well with respect to Vietnam too...

Hitler considered the Soviet Union a backward country from the standpoints of science, technical knowledge and technology. It is not difficult to imagine what his generals thought about their Fuehrer when they came up against Soviet technology on the battlefield. The "T-34" tank was recognized as an absolute by all the military specialists in the world, including the Hitlerite command, and proved to be the best tank of the second world war. The "IL-2" low-flying attack aircraft, nicknamed "the flying tank" by the Hitlerites, had no equal. The Soviet reactive artillery was unsurpassed and a dreaded force on the battlefields of the second world war. Of no small importance, in terms of armament production, not to speak of how rapidly the unprecedented shift of our industry to the east was implemented, toward the middle of the war, the Soviet Union exceeded Hitlerite Germany, including the countries it had occupied. Well, there are a great many subjects that should be reflected upon by Western historians and politicians. There is still another aspect of the problem which certain people abroad should consider more thoroughly. Among the aims pursued by the USA in the arms race, the immediate one - or perhaps interim one - formulated by the White House was to bring the USSR to economic breakdown and collapse by means of this race. Disturbed about this threat, some Soviet citizens began to send letters to the CPSU CC in which they proposed to take part of this burden on their own shoulders by increasing their working hours, establishing a special fund, etc. Replying to them in one of his speeches, K.U. Chernenko said that no sacrifices are required of the Soviet people, that Soviet technology and the Soviet economy are sufficiently powerful and dynamic to cope with the task without damaging the interests and social achievements of Soviet citizens. And they are coping! Three commodity price reductions, in particular, have been carried out in the past, not counting the continual increase of social programs. A fourth price reduction was announced recently. In the USA, however, the opposite is true: social programs are cut mercilessly; according to the American press itself, the number of people below the

poverty line is growing and prices are rising as well. Price reductions in the USA are still somehow unheard of...

In this connection, there is a proverb that is automatically recalled: "He that mischief hatches, mischief catches!" Is this ancient proverb known in the White House? If not, it is too bad; it might possibly help certain people in Washington construct international relations in a more circumspect manner.

Such are the beginnings and the ends. The results of the second world war are well known: they were summed up by the Potsdam Conference and the memorable trial of the major war criminals in Nuernberg. It is worthwhile paying attention to one of these results: Hitler, the main character in the drama, the actor in the proscenium, so to speak, together with his lame ideologist, Goebbels, took poison, like scorpions which, in desperate circumstances, sting themselves in the head. Perhaps those who are dragging firewood for the total planetary bonfire dream at night that at the end of the adventure, they will be given a white parade horse. Hitler probably did not only dream of this; such a horse was already prepared for him. But it turned out to be a horse for the ride by the direct route to the other world.

The anti-Hitler coalition won the second world war. There was some unevenness in it, but it accomplished the main objective. The thought arises involuntarily: it would be good to create that kind of powerful anti-aggression coalition today in order to avert world catastrophe. The beginning of such a coalition exists: it is constituted by the socialist countries and the international peace movement. But the increase and strengthening of such a coalition through the participation of other peace-loving countries and peoples would be the best guarantee that every person on earth will live out the length of time allotted to him and not burn in a nuclear fire or die in the convulsions of atomic radiation.

After such severe experiences in the past, does mankind not have enough sense and self-control to stop at the edge of the abyss? How much more reflection can there be on the problem of whether to jump or not jump? Until some maniac or other pushes from behind or detonates a landmine, causing an avalanche?

It is time to decide intelligently and act energetically!

12249

CSO: 1807/30

## INTERNATIONAL

### GROWTH OF COMPUTER CRIME IN U.S. VIEWED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by S. Kolesnichenko under the rubric, "The Scientific-Technical Revolution and Capital": "Is the Computer Really at Fault?"]

[Text] In the estimation of Western mass information media the so-called "computer revolution", which is one of the specific manifestations of the scientific-technical revolution in the present-day life of the U.S., occupies far from the last place among the many problems which are disturbing the American public. The universal use of computers in industry results in the replacement of work places with computers, which is causing natural concern among Americans. The U.S. press thinks that in time this process will also affect "white-collar workers". However, the darkest dangers for inhabitants of the U.S. are connected with the fact that government and big business are using computers to shadow American citizens: FBI computers keep many millions of files on Americans and five of the biggest credit firms have stored 150 (!) million files in their computers.

These facts are causing indignation among ordinary Americans, but not at all among the powers that be in the U.S. However one of the secondary manifestations of the electronic machine boom caught even the official authorities unawares. It is the matter of the growth of the use of computers for criminal purposes. More and more often the unusual terms "computer crime" and "computer criminal" and so forth have begun to turn up on the pages of American newspapers and magazines. The fact is that today in the U.S. they have found a use for computers not only in industry and at scientific-research institutes, they are also being used for recording grades in schools and colleges, accounts in stores, paying for telephone conversations and so forth.

However the U.S. criminal world has its own angle for the scientific-technical revolution. They have begun to use the new machines for carrying out such crimes "traditional" in America like robbery and appropriation of other people's money. Moreover "computer criminals" do not deal directly with money, but with the information accumulated in the memory of computers. The range of such offences is extremely wide: from improving school grades to destroying bills at stores and changing credit rating data. The theft of results of exploratory drilling carried out by a particular oil company, for which its competitors are ready to pay millions of dollars, is also among the crimes associated with the use of computers. In the U.S. today along with telephone

codes which allow people to be connected to computers at any point in the country without paying for intercity conversations, copies (nomera) of credit cards (goods are sold on credit when they are presented) are sold like baseball tickets.

R. Gilmet, one of the leading experts in the struggle against offences associated with the use of the computer, complains, "In the good old times to commit a crime you needed to know how to shoot a revolver fast and accurately and always have a nimble-footed fast horse within reach. Now you need clever, fast fingers and a small computer."

The absence of laws in the U.S. which would provide punishment for such offences is yet another problem which the official authorities have run into in their struggle against "computer crime",

Now they are quickly considering drafts of new legislative measures in all American states. But this is not surprising. The damage caused by "computer crimes" is estimated to be between 100 million and several billion dollars annually.

The scientific-technical revolution is uncovering a vast expanse of activity before mankind, raising him to a higher level of development. However under conditions of capitalism the scientific-technical revolution sometimes assumes abnormal forms.

12585

CS0: 1807/288



## INTERNATIONAL

### EFFECTS OF ROBOTS, COMPUTERS ON STRUCTURE OF U.S. LABOR FORCE

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Aug 84 p 4

[Article by A. Melnikov, doctor of economic sciences: "The Robot Revolution and the Problem of Unemployment"]

[Excerpts] The well-known American economists S. Johnson and S. Levitan recently wrote an article entitled "Future Work: Will It Belong to Us or Robots?" In analyzing employment prospects for the end of the 80's and into the 90's, the authors cannot give a precise answer to this question. They foresee a "sickly period" ahead, but conclude: "It seems that there will be work."

Why then are anxiety and uncertainty arising? It would seem that the new stage of the scientific-technical revolution would create opportunities to accelerate the growth of labor productivity and the volume of production. The role of computers is changing qualitatively and their miniaturization is taking place. The micro-"chip" performs millions of operations per second. With the help of the micro-computer it is possible to perform a large number of operations. The robot, controlled by a microprocessor, is capable of replacing a worker in the series assembly of various components in automobile and other production assembly lines and of carrying out welding, pressure-die casting, transportation of parts and many other operations.

On the whole, in the estimation of researchers from Carnegie-Mellon University, robots can perform 7 million kinds of work operations, one-third of all work in U.S. industry. According to forecasts it is possible that automation will encompass 65-75 percent of all work places in American industrial enterprises in the future.

But precisely this is also causing deep anxiety among Western economists, politicians, and trade union workers. Articles and forecasts about future "new unemployment" are appearing in which the fear is expressed that a rapid reduction in the functions of human labor will lead to further growth of unemployment and an "undesirable effect in income distribution" in capitalist countries.

One can hardly agree with the proposition about a "reduction in labor functions." The personal factor of production was and will be decisive. But the labor force is acquiring new characteristics. The strengthening of the role

of highly specialized, highly skilled, and "educated" labor is beyond question. As Karl Marx noted, precisely this highly specialized labor creates greater value in terms of time and acts as simple labor repeatedly multiplied. However it is impossible not to recognize as legitimate the conclusions of a number of American scholars about the growing danger of "technological unemployment" under the conditions of capitalism as well as about the possibility of a still larger differentiation in income.

The rates of robotization of the economy depend on many frequently opposite causes and it is extremely difficult to predict them accurately.

Among the factors which can slow down new technological improvements, the most important is the large-scale underutilization (underloading) of equipment in many sectors of the capitalist economy, even in phases of revival and upswing. Before replacing existing machinery with new equipment, companies are interested in their fullest utilization. Moreover, corporations have to consider the huge investments which a fundamental breaking up of technological structures requires.

However, certain factors can also intensify the "robot-technical revolution" in the U.S. These are, first of all the rapid obsolescence of the machinery in operation and accelerated foreign, especially Japanese, competition. The need for American firms to sharply increase their competitive ability can compel them to accelerate the rates of introducing robots.

Furthermore, the use of manipulators and microprocessing equipment, undoubtedly, will be expanded as their product costs decrease due to their probable low price. The average level of prices for robots varies in the range of 25,000 to 80,000 dollars, but the operating cost of some of them is already now only around 5 dollars per hour. In this case the robot successfully competes with the worker. The characteristic discovered by K. Marx comes into effect: the capitalist introduces new equipment first and foremost when it is cheaper than the labor force.

The interaction of the indicated opposite factors can cause various rates of robotization. But in any case it is completely apparent that it will entail mass dismissals. For example, Professor W. Abernathy of the Harvard School of Business thinks that the Ford Motor Company, in order to become as efficient as the Japanese auto companies through the introduction of robots, will have to dismiss half of the 226,000 Americans who worked at the firm in 1978. Such robotization, of course, would sharply intensify unemployment.

What has been said does not mean that a one-sided decrease in the number of work places will occur in the market for hired labor. To some extent the development of new industries and new professions will compensate for it. Science intensive and highly technical industries such as electronics, the production of automation equipment and above all robot construction, biotechnology, laser equipment and several others are the most promising. The development of these sectors will require new professions, especially highly skilled workers doing the setting-up, repair, and monitoring of robots and electronic equipment. In one of the forecasts it is indicated that at the beginning of the 21st century around 2 million Americans will be producing, monitoring or repairing robots. The need for designers of new equipment and, especially, of program writers will increase: 3.5 million programmers will be needed.

However, undoubtedly, the newly emerging work places cannot compensate for the loss of former work places. After all, if one proceeds from the average estimates, more than 15 million workers in the traditional sectors of U.S. industry alone will lose their places by the beginning of the new century. As a rule, the new industries are labor-saving industries and they will absorb a fewer number of workers.

And finally, there is still another very complex problem under capitalism. Acquiring new professions requires special training and a high level of education. It will be necessary to retrain workers. But at whose expense? This is uneconomical for private firms under conditions of an overcrowded market for hired labor when even part of the specialists are unemployed.

Until recently the problem of unemployment was moderated somewhat by the growth of employment in the sectors producing services. New mass detachments of the working class have arisen in trade and the service sphere in the U.S. (in trade 18 million and in the service sphere 17 million ordinary workers hired to perform labor). However, the introduction of manipulators and mini-computers already begun here will result in time in the fact that this area will not only cease to "moderate" unemployment, but will itself begin to push out a portion of its own workers onto the labor market. According to a Carnegie-Mellon University estimate, 38 of the 50 million "white-collar workers", the majority of whom are trade and office workers as well as specialists, will be replaced by automatic machines.

Several bourgeois authors, trying to soften the impression of the new difficulties arising with the problem of unemployment, speak with clearly forced optimism. In particular, the U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT in the review "Future Professions--in 50 Years" writes, "Bigger wages, fewer work hours, and more variety is what the breadwinner expects in the future."

But here is another appraisal, by the way, also from a bourgeois publication FORTUNE MAGAZINE: "A dark, cold era for the American worker is approaching... In the future legions of workers will be condemned to idleness." In the article it is noted that technological changes will eliminate the majority of "blue-collar" professions (as industrial and other workers are usually called) who, being forced from plants and factories, may turn into low-paid flunkies or the chronically unemployed.

So mass noncyclical unemployment, the signs of which are already beginning to appear, awaits the American economy in the future. It is a direct result of new technological improvement under capitalist conditions, a social consequence of the newest stage of the scientific-technical revolution that is particular to capitalism and one of the greatest paradoxes of capitalism: machinery apposes man, does not help him, but harms him.

12585

CSO: 1807/288

DEMOCRATS' DIFFERENCES WITH REAGAN ON ARMS SPENDING BELITTLED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Sep 84 p 5

[Article by L. Koryavin: "At the Capitol and Around It"]

[Excerpt] The Reagan administration is trying to place its military requirements on an "ideological" foundation. It is resorting to demagogical rhetoric in its strivings to convince the potential voter of the fact that the growth of military arsenals is the way to a "strong America" and the guarantee of its "security." The Republicans are making those opposed to the broad military plans at the White House the target of sharp attacks, accusing them of going against America's "national aims," since without rearmament, they say, the country will remain "weak" and "helpless."

This great power chauvinist conception received particular response in Dallas, where the Republican party's national convention ended the other day with the acceptance of its platform and the nomination of Reagan as candidate for a second term as president. The speeches of the majority of the delegates were permeated with the bellicose spirit of a struggle for a "strong America" and appeals for an arms race unlimited by the tasks of the present day. The ultra-conservative wing, which dominated the convention, initiated the working out of a strategic program of service by the political party to the interests of monopolies, first and foremost to the interests of the military-industrial complex.

The Pentagon and the military concerns have laid out grandiose programs for arming the country during the current administration. They have worked out a stable alliance with the present leaders in the White House. The administration organizes the militarist circles and opens the doors to their military requirements. The present administration, as is well known, has kept them wide open during the whole four years of its tenure in power. The military programs are arranged decades in advance and they even glance at the next century with ideas from "star wars." There exists, for example, a Pentagon document called "The USA's Air Power in the 21st Century," about which columnist R. Halloran wrote in THE NEW YORK TIMES.

It cannot be said that the conception of a "strong America" has a "single-party" foundation. The Democrats remain together with the Republicans in one "legislative trench," as they have also already approved in Congress a



whole series of strategic military programs, including creation of the B-1B bomber, the "Trident" submarine, the "Pershing-2" missile, flying missiles, the working out of a large-scale anti-missile defense system (PRO) and other armaments. Although the Democrats, in their amendments, have cut the overall appropriation amount for the Pentagon's aims this time too, an astronomical sum has still been approved by them - 293 billion dollars.

But the polemics between the representatives of the competing parties regarding military programs have achieved a noticeable tension in Congress. Circles close to the legislative organ of the USA assert that the stumbling block to working out a unified bill in the conciliatory commission was the question of the MX missiles. The Democrats in the House of Representatives, where they constitute the majority, intend to continue fighting for introduction of their own kind of moratorium on production of the MX until 1 April 1985, with subsequent compulsory passage of a separate Congressional resolution on financial appropriations for further purchases of this "first strike" weapon.

As usual, a number of questions remain open, among them the appropriations ceiling on the military goals of the USA in the next fiscal year, as well as the American military presence in Central America and others. But many observers are not inclined to regard the position of the Democrats as their attempt to place a firm barrier on the path to the unrestrained arms race in the USA and prevent a widening of American expansionism in the international arena, but explain it as the "specific character of the moment." Reagan's policy in the international arena has suffered many defeats. This includes the failure of his Middle East plan, the quagmire of escapades in which the USA was bogged down in Central America and the exposure of its dishonest games regarding negotiations with the Soviet Union, which were wrecked through the fault of Washington.

For this reason, the Democrats are making a target of Reagan administration foreign policy, at which they are aiming their shafts in order to attract the greater number of voters to their side, although in essence they have still not proposed a reasonable alternative to the adventurist policy of the White House and its plans for an unlimited arms race.

The Democratic leaders have spoken for a five percent increase in the Pentagon's military expenditures. But there is not much difference between five and seven percent. The Democrats also do not have a constructive position on questions of the MX missile.

...The hot summer in Washington has ended. Congress has interrupted its work, putting off discussion of the administration's militaristic programs. But the war fever in the United States does not take a vacation. Its assaults are being displayed with new strength these days. In military and political circles, the "imperative necessity of improving the war preparedness" of the USA's armament strength is being debated again. War games are being conducted under the code name "Pressure Point - 84," in the course of which the tactics of "limited war" are being worked through. The head of the USA army staff, John Wickham, is requesting a new uniform, which will be "more suitable for battle action."

A certain tendency has also been observable recently in the USA. It is fairly apparent that the administration's "peace-loving" rhetoric is being played out and exhausting itself. Anti-soviet hysteria is being kindled again in the country now. This has been reflected, for example, in the slanderous statements by the president's assistant on national security, MacFarlane, and the justice minister, Smith, in the unrestrained anti-soviet orgy at the Olympiad in Los Angeles and in the faked films distorting life in the Soviet Union, which have appeared on television. The sinister "jokes" by the president himself are whipping up this unbridled campaign.

12249

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## INTERNATIONAL

### PROGRESSIVE ACTIONS OF LATIN AMERICAN CHURCHES PRAISED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Oct 84 p 5

[Article by M. Kudachkin, doctor of historical sciences: "The 'Rebellious' Church"]

[Excerpts] So many crocodile tears have been shed by our enemies on behalf of the imaginary persecutions of believers in the Soviet Union! However, it is namely there, where the "guerrillas" in the service of the CIA and similar terrorist institutions prevail, that not only ordinary priests, but even archbishops perish hourly.

It was namely in El Salvador, during a religious service, where the archbishop of the country, Romero, was killed by hirelings of the CIA. The same thing is happening in other Latin American countries, where the number of murdered religious personnel is growing without interruption. Who are they killing? Those who speak out against U.S. imperialism and for freedom and progress.

I. R. Grigulevich, scholar and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, writes about this in his books, nominated in competitions for the USSR State Prize<sup>1</sup> and known not only in our country but abroad. He looks at the church as a living organism, noting that time and circumstances bring to its policy corresponding corrections. Along with this, I. R. Grigulevich notes that the church, in all stages of history has been divided into progressive and reactionary groups, cruelly fighting among themselves.

But if reaction won, as a rule, in the past, today it is no longer able to restrain the believers speaking out against it. The "theology of liberation," "people's church," "basic Christian communities," "young rebellious church"--all these concepts and phenomena existing today in the Catholic Church have many followers. For example, in Nicaragua there are three minister-priests in the Sandinista government, for foreign affairs, culture and education. The Vatican insists that they leave their posts under the pretext that the church should not be involved in politics. But they are going along with the people, fighting together with them in the name of freedom and happiness of the people themselves.

It is especially pertinent to talk about the situation in Chile and the role of the church in this country. Last year there a popular wave of anger rose up against the crimes of the Pinochet junta. The majority of churchmen, led

by Cardinal Raúl Silva Enríquez, together with other democratic forces spoke out against the dictatorship, which enraged the tyrant and his Washington patrons. However, despite the cruel terror and the tyrannical murder of priests, democrats and patriots, the opposition movement is growing and the process of rallying the forces fighting against the fascist regime goes on.

In connection with this it is impossible not to note that in one of the works in the cycle reviewed--"The 'Rebellious' Church in Latin America"--published by NAUKA in 1972, the author concludes with the following words: "The guarantee of reaction's defeat is served by the strongest unity of all progressive forces--communists and believers, workers and peasants, patriotically oriented priests and soldiers, the leading intelligentsia and that strata of the national bourgeoisie who place the interests of their nation above their own personal egotistical interests. This conclusion follows from an analysis of today's Latin American reality and in particular from the processes occurring within the Catholic Church and the position of other religious cults in this part of the world." It hardly needs to be proved that this conclusion has not lost its urgency in our time.

The works of I. R. Grigulevich are not only a serious contribution to the Marxist study of religion; it is possible to confirm with complete reliability that these books serve the cause of the struggle of the progressive forces of the Latin American people against reaction, aspiring to find the irreversible course of social changes in the modern world.

#### FOOTNOTE

1. I. R. Grigulovich. "Krest i mech. Katolicheskaya tserkov' v Ispanskoy Amerike. XVI-XVIII vv." (The Cross and the Sword. The Catholic Church in Spanish America, 16th-18th Century). Moscow. "Nauka," 1977. 295 pp; "Tserkov' i oligarkhiya v Latinskoy Amerike. 1810-1959" (The Church and the Oligarchy in Latin America, 1810-1959). Moscow. "Nauka," 1981. 327 pp; "' Myatezhnaya' tserkov' v Latinskoy Amerike" (The Rebellious Church in Latin America). Moscow. "Nauka," 1972. 411 pp; "Inkvizitsiya" (The Inquisition). Moscow. Politizdat, 2d edition, 1976. 463 pp; "Papstvo. Vek XX" (The Papacy, 20th Century). Moscow. Politizdat, 2d edition, 1981. 532 pp.



## INTERNATIONAL

### SOVIET, AMERICAN YOUTHS DEBATE ON ARMS RACE

Moscow KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Sep 84 p 3

[Article by Sergei Stepanov, age 27 "A Conversation with Someone My Own Age"]

[Text] I never thought that I could sit like this and write a letter - not in one or two days, but over the course of weeks.

The reason for the letter was the speech of the general secretary of the CPSU CC, the chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, K.U. Chernenko, at the All-army conference of Komsomol organization secretaries. The speech was for me, about me, for my friends and about them, that is to say it was for everyone who falls within this category: modern youth, the komsomol.

Two generations have grown up in our country without war. No one in the West says any more that Russians go around in bast sandals and caps with ear flaps. We have begun to live well and we want to live still better, which is perfectly natural... Some people have become reassured. They have been nurtured in comfort. They understand without us, they manage without us, everything will be fine without us. They have sometimes begun to forget the fundamental thing, the chief thing: the merits of the present generation of Soviet people and, of course, the komsomol members, the youths, with respect to our native land are measured above all by how correctly, rapidly and skillfully we will be able "to eliminate from our life everything that contradicts the idea of social justice," i.e. how rapidly we "sweep out" of our life idlers, bureaucrats, bribe-takers, "racketeers" and currency speculators. Our generation must crystallize its ability to withstand any enemy, its ability to fulfill any task, even an impossible one, with enthusiasm, initiative and a romantic attitude, if our native land requires it.

Things have not become more tranquil on the planet: the enemy has become cleverer and more refined in his means. For this reason, the immediate tasks of the komsomol remain the struggle for peace and the active participation in the strengthening of the economy and the country's defense capabilities. These tasks have a single purpose: so that my three year-old daughter can play calmly with children under a peaceful sky and not one breathing nuclear death, it is necessary today, not tomorrow, to exert efforts for our full military preparedness and to have a precise, clear understanding

of the tasks set by the party; not to become deaf from stereo tape recorders while sprawling on a soft couch, not "to enjoy the fruit of the labors of your predecessors," but "to settle down with all your strength to that difficult multi-plan work which the party defines as the perfection of developed socialism." That is our work. The place of the komsomol worker is not in an office, but in the fields, in the plant, in the institute. The party expects concrete work from us. "Learn, learn and learn." Learn to win, to emerge from a difficult situation. Such situations occur in the life of each of us and it is necessary to prepare for them today. I think that it will be appropriate in this connection to tell here about one case.

I now work as a translator in a metallurgical combine in the Indian city of Bokaro. On one of our business trips, we happened to find ourselves at the same dinner table as two young men. We got into a conversation. One of them, who looked about 30, happened to be an American by the name of Henri. The other, 28 years old, introduced himself as Keps. He is a South African by birth, but now lives in Great Britain and dreams about taking out English citizenship. He explained to me that he does not agree with apartheid and for that reason he left the Republic of South Africa. Both, like me, are married and both have children. Gradually, the conversation, of its own accord, turned to politics. One question disturbed Henri, Keps and myself - American-Soviet relations. What is going on? Why can we sit at the same table in a hotel, but cannot find any place at the negotiations table? Why can the two huge powers not come to an agreement? "The Russians. The Russians are at fault in everything," both of them answered categorically. "The Russians want war. They started the war in Vietnam too, and we had to go to help the Asians." "Vietnam?" - that was something I had not expected to hear. "But you yourselves admitted before the whole world that the war in Vietnam is America's disgrace!"

I tried to explain: "Your own armed forces are dispersed over the whole world: Honduras, Salvador, Europe and Asia. No one invited you to Grenada, and you cannot call that anything but occupation. No one places mines in your territorial waters. Finally, Afghanistan. If it were not for the interference of the States, the people of the DRA [Democratic Republic of Afghanistan] would have been living peacefully a long time ago. Secretary of State Shultz has stated bluntly that the United States 'has helped, is helping and will continue to help' the enemies under its wardship. You in America do not grudge any money for this. 75 million dollars a year for grenades, radio transmitters, machine guns and land to air rockets, but you all shout, 'the Russians!'"

"Propaganda," said Henri indignantly. "Maybe not," said Keps, joining in the conversation. "I met an Afghan recently who wants to join the struggle for 'liberation.' He has plenty of money, but he is still only a student. He told me himself how a teacher from America came to give lectures in their college. He suggested that this student should join the ranks of the 'revolutionaries.'" "Yes!" Henri at last agreed. "The CIA is famous for such tricks."

"Very recently," I continued, "you celebrated the 40th anniversary of the opening of the second front during World War II. 10,000 young Americans laid down their lives then." "10,000, really?" asked Keps in surprise. "Do you think that is a lot?" I asked. "Every one of our families still remembers the 20 million people who died during that war." I saw the stupefaction in their eyes at the number. "We have experienced the force of death ourselves. What kind of monster, then, thought up this provocation that permits mockery of the most sacred thing in our country - human life?" "Yes," said Henri slowly, "I am sorry." Noticing that I remained silent, Henri turned with the question, "Sergei, all the same, the Russians are not such peace loving people. You left the negotiations, not the USA. I know for sure that Reagan has the best intentions; he wants peace."

"Well, we want a different peace. It is one thing when a country is sincere in word and deed: it is possible and necessary to conduct a dialog with such a government. But why be hypocritical and speak about readiness to sign an agreement about not being the first to use force in international relations and, at the same time, distribute Pershings and winged rockets, placing the whole of humanity under threat of death in this way? We talk about parity, approximate equality. This has been reviewed and demonstrated hundreds of times, convincingly demonstrated with figures and facts. Parity is not a fantasy, not an invention, it is a reality. Why does neither the USA nor its allies listen to the voice of the demonstrations of many millions of their own people who ask one thing: that rockets be removed from Europe. The lives of millions are at stake." "You are exaggerating," said Keps, "I have read that only these rockets can bring you back to negotiations."

"Yes, the USA wants to force us to live according to its orders. It considers that only the States can have a foreign policy, but no one else. Accordingly, SALT must be conducted according to its scenario and with you it is very simple: the Soviet Union must reduce its arsenal, while the USA increases its own!" Keps almost jumped up: "Propaganda again! No one wants peace more than the Americans!"

"It was necessary for Reagan to wait until the third year of his four-year term in the White House in order to come out finally with some sort of proposal, although a patently provocative one, on reducing strategic weapons. He knew very well that it would be unacceptable to the USSR. I agree that the Soviet Union and the United States must work out, once and for all, a long-term program on reducing their nuclear stockpiles, a program that can be verified, a program based on mutual trust. But how is it possible to believe a president having the firm intention of remaining in the White House for another four years who, shortly before the 1980 elections, assured the voters: 'I, as president, will do everything possible to prepare for the SALT-3 negotiations. My primary purpose is the reduction of armaments.' Here is what the same man said, but after he had become president: 'The Soviets are the personification of evil in the modern world.' And suddenly again: 'I am prepared to meet and conduct negotiations at any time. The door is open.' Which Reagan is to be believed? With which one are negotiations

to be conducted? Or are there two Reagans? Who is he - peacemaker or savage anti-communist? For us, he is a 'hawk' who wants to dictate his will patronizingly on earth and almost on the cosmos." "The USA will never be the first to attack the USSR," said Keps, albeit not with very much assurance. "You know, I read a book recently about the first world war. The author wrote that in 1914 the world considered that man had finally reached such a level of civilization that even the thought of war was considered madness. People thought that man was so intelligent that he would never again pull a trigger, that from now on people would shudder from thunder-claps and not from the explosions of shells. How much more death is needed, how many more widows and orphans? How much blood still has to be spilled before it becomes clear once and for all that man must have peace?"

"It is strange," answered the American after a silence. "It comes out that only you want peace, but what about Reagan and me? Don't we want it too?" Keps interrupted: "Sergei, whatever happens, no one is going to make me a murderer." Then Henri: "It's horrible." All of us were silent. Keps stared at his plate; Henri got up and went to the window. I got up too. "All right, it is time to say good-bye." I held out my hand to Henri, one of the many Americans; Henri, a representative of the American people.

The Indians who were sitting nearby and listening to our conversation looked at us with unconcealed curiosity. Would we meet again? If we meet, where will it be? I am very certain of one thing, though: The Soviet Union is doing everything in its power so that I and my American coevals will never be divided by trenches.

"Superpower..." Not our word, not a Russian word. Superpower, superman... What next - superwar, super-self-destruction? To exterminate each other on land, at sea, in outer space. Super-slaughter... It will not happen. There was Napoleon, the Entente and Hitler. It will not happen because the country is behind me, the blast-furnace operators of Krivoy Rog, the steel furnace operators of Magnitka and the coal miners of Donbas are behind me, the kind of youth is behind me "who will not falter under the weight of the historical responsibility for the fate of the country and for the fate of socialism and peace." Henri, the American, understood this, I think. I am sure that he understood and sure that he will go home to Chicago and tell his friends: "The Russians cannot be taken by fear. They have to be spoken to not with MX's in our pocket, but as equals to equals, as one great country to another great country." We are answerable for peace on earth. Our grandfathers and fathers inherited it at a terrible price and we will never permit anyone to disinherit us of it.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### FRENCH NOVEL ON 'COMPUTER WAR' AGAINST USSR HIT

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 29, 18 Jul 84 p 9

[Article by Aleksandr Sabov, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent, Paris, under the rubric, "Anti-Sovietism, How This Happens": "Computer-Saboteurs, or 'Bugs' for the Computer"]

[Text] During the years of the "crusade" against communism declared by the ruling administration of the U.S., anti-soviet literary hackwork has blossomed as a luxuriant flower in the West. They are dashing off oil-war novels, which, however, is nothing new. Whole batches, of space war, chemical war, and germ war novels have come out, which is new, but not that new. Just recently I reviewed "the first currency warfare novel" in the pages of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA ("Freedom for Slight of Hand," 27 June). And now we have still another novelty, one more promising premiere: the information war novel. Do not think that there will be a fight with rolled-up newspapers and magazines, or tons of published material with small shrapnel-citations. No, this will be a "silent war" of computers: first knock out the Soviet Union's computer center centers, and then grab the spear and rouse those sleeping bears from their lairs. It would be a picnic, not a war!

The scenario for destabilizing the USSR that is proposed in the book "The Silent War" by Terry Breton and Denis Beresh is so attractive, so nice, that reviewers are unanimously exclaiming, why not do it?! "In fact, our military has no reason to deprive itself of the possibility of putting such a fascinating weapon into action," writes the leftist journal NOUVELLE OBSERVATEUR in delight. "The West can unleash chaos in the USSR tomorrow if it wants!" FIGARO-MAGAZINE croaks from the right. The Paris publishing house Laffont, which published the novel, is already breaking records for publicity reviews, which is a sure sign that the publisher is aiming for a best seller.

At any rate one of the authors, Terry Breton, knows what he is talking about. An information specialist who owns firms in Paris and New York which publish computer programs, he is certain that "in 1984 a minimum of three-fourths of the computer programs are sold with 'bugs' expressly put in them." The very idea of computer "bugs" is prompted by the occurrence of mistakes in their programs: if the computer is not "instructed" concerning particular unforeseen circumstances, this can easily confuse its electronic brain.

Instead of an omniscient machine before you, it will turn out to be a madman who without ceremony will confuse you in calculation, in forecasts, and in the logic of causes and effects. Western firms have hit upon the idea to specially put these mistakes in the computer: this, it turn out, is the best way to keep clients under their thumb! Since computer-information centers of the whole world are establishing closer and closer ties among themselves, then the methods of introducing 'bugs' intended to put a particular computer or center out of action become ever greater also. "This practice," assures Terry Breton, "is used systematically in relations with clients of doubtful solvency, especially in Latin America."

Such revelations make us wince. But this is just the beginning! If with the help of "bugs" Western dealers are carrying out an information war against developing countries, the clever minds from the Pentagon have long ago contrived to transfer this aggressive commercial term, "silent bombs," to its own bellicose language. With the help of these "silent bombs" it is possible to unleash a "silent war".

We shall see whether this "first information war novel" will become a best seller. If the antisoviets themselves become drunk on antisovietism, this is by no means a signal for the "general public" to storm the book counters. All the more so since they will find all the same popular antisoviet cliches in the novel. And so it stands to reason about the "Soviet menace", which it turns out is possible to eliminate easily and nicely if one could sell more Western computers to the Russians, thereby restraining the production of their own.... What such miracles will not people, whose heads have been stuffed every day about "bugs" and "silent war", dream of in a romantic dream!

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## INTERNATIONAL

### BRIEFS

**ARGENTINE COMMUNISTS IN UZBEKISTAN**--A delegation of Argentine communists arrived in Uzbekistan, headed by member of the Central Committee of the Argentine Communist Party and the central commission for propaganda of the Argentine CP Central Committee Angel Negri. On 28 August the delegation was received at the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee. [UzTAG] [Excerpts] [Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 30 Aug 84 p 1]

**ETHNIC GROUPS FROM AFGHANISTAN**--A group of representatives of the tribes and peoples of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan arrived in the capital of Uzbekistan. They were received in the Tashkent gorispolkom. The representatives of the DRA community are making a trip through the republic, visiting industrial enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes and a number of cultural and educational institutions. [UzTAG] [Excerpts] [Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 21 Sep 85 p 1]

**AGRICULTURAL SEMINAR IN TASHKENT**--On 14 September an international seminar of the UN Economic Commission for Africa on "Agriculture in the USSR" began work in Tashkent. The participants--specialists from 17 African countries involved in projects for developing agriculture--will become acquainted in the course of 2 weeks with the experience of planning production of agriculture and animal husbandry, comprehensive mastery of irrigated lands, mechanization of labor intensive processes and training of cadres. B.R. Rakhimov, deputy chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, spoke at the opening of the international seminar. [UzTAG] [Excerpts] [Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 15 Sep 84 p 1]

**GUEST FROM SYRIA**--'Abdallah al-Ahmar, deputy general secretary of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (PASV) of the Syrian Arab Republic arrived in Tashkent while on vacation in the Soviet Union. Secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee G. Kh. Kadyrov and other officials met the guest at the airport. CPSU Central Committee responsible worker A.I. Vavilov accompanied the guest from Syria on his trip. [UzTAG] [Excerpts] [Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 16 Sep 84 p 1]

**WRITERS' ASSOCIATION OFFICIAL IN TASHKENT**--The first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, I.V. Usmanhodzhayev, on 19 September received Alex La Guma, general secretary of the Association of Writers of Asia and Africa. In a friendly discussion, the visitor was told about the

tasks of the republic's workers in bringing to life the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and preparing to properly greet the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Uzbek SSR and the Uzbek Communist Party. The first secretary of the board of the Uzbek Union of Writers, S. Azimov, took part in the discussion. [UzTAG] [Excerpts] [Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 20 Sep 84 p 1]

NEW 'SSHA' CHIEF APPOINTED--Valentin Mikhaylovich Berezhkov has been appointed chief editor of the journal SSHA--EKONOMIKA, POLITIKA, IDEOLOGIYA. He was born in 1916. He graduated from the Kiev Industrial Institute. He has worked in the press since 1945: He was the responsible secretary and deputy chief editor of the journal NOVOYE VREMYA. From 1969 to 1978 he was chief editor of the journal SSHA--EKONOMIKA, POLITIKA, IDEOLOGIYA. Since 1978 he has worked in the U.S.A. and Canada Institute. He is a candidate of historical sciences. [Excerpt] [Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 6, Jun 84 p 66] [COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo "Pravda". "Zhurnalist", 1984.]

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## NATIONAL

### WESTERN CRITICISM OF MATURE SOCIALISM CONCEPT REBUFFED

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 8, Aug 84 (signed to press 30 Jul 84) pp 35-49

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences A. Ye. Krukhmalev: "The Marxist-Leninist Conception of Developed Socialism and the Groundlessness of Its Bourgeois Critics"]

[Text] The question of developed socialism and its improvement is among the key issues of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice today. "The party," emphasizes CPSU Central Committee general secretary, Comrade K. U. Chernenko, "is devoting great attention to analyzing the unique features of the modern period, to sober determination, without shades of utopianism, of the level of socioeconomic maturity we have attained in the new society. By making this determination we develop strictly scientific principles for CPSU policy. The conception of developed socialism as a historically lengthy stage, at the beginning of which our country now exists, plays an enormous role in this."<sup>1</sup>

The conception of developed socialism, which is a sound theoretical and methodological foundation for solving fundamental problems associated with our further advance on the road to communism, is at the same time a mighty weapon in the fight against anticommunism, social reformism and revisionism, which have essentially united into single front against real socialism, and which are intensifying their anti-Soviet attacks on the ideological front, particularly in connection with development of a new edition of the Party Program by the CPSU. As was noted at a meeting held by a CPSU Central Committee commission to prepare the new edition of the CPSU Program on 25 April 1984, this highly important party document "is to play a substantial role in the worldwide ideological struggle."<sup>2</sup>

This article reveals the groundlessness of anticommunist attempts at distorting the place of mature socialism in history and its economic, social, political and spiritual traits and laws.

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The ideological struggle centering on the place of developed socialism in history is closely associated with practical development of socialism. Success in solving both the current and long-range problems associated with improving

socialist society depends on a correct understanding of these problems. It is obvious that running ahead of ourselves, posing unreal tasks in economics and politics and losing perspective in our forward motion are equally dangerous as well.

The Marxist-Leninist teaching on the communist socioeconomic formation is the methodological foundation for scientific analysis of the place of socialism in history. In his work "Marxism on the State" and in his book "State and Revolution," V. I. Lenin relies on the premises of Marx to distinguish the following three stages in the origin and development of the communist formation: I. "The lengthy torment of labor." II. "The first phase of communist society." III. "The highest phase of communist society."<sup>3</sup> The place of socialism in history is clearly evident from this. Lenin pointed out on several occasions that the transition from capitalism to communism marks a transition namely to the first phase of the communist formation--that is, to socialism, and that it represents "the lengthy torment of labor" of socialism itself.<sup>4</sup> The experience of the history of socialist development in the USSR and in other countries persuasively confirmed the Marxist-Leninist definition of the place of socialism in history.

In non-Marxist literature, the transitory period as a necessary stage in the origin of socialist society is either ignored altogether, or the first phase of the communist formation is placed in its entirety into this period. Thus the dialectics of the transitory period from capitalism to socialism and the socialist phase of the communist formation are grossly distorted.

On one hand the continuity of the transitory period and the first phase of the new formation--socialism--that follows it is denied. However, Marxism-Leninism demonstrated, and the experience of history confirmed, that socialism already exists in the transitory period as a special way of life and, moreover, as a social structure: Political and state power is in the hands of the working class headed by the Marxist-Leninist party; a new means of production arises and develops; the laborers are indoctrinated in the spirit of scientific ideology. All of this is evidence that the transitory period and the first phase of the communist formation following it are characterized by important common traits inherent to socialism as a social structure. This is why October 1917 is rightfully treated as the beginning of the origin of the communist formation in the Country of the Soviets and in the world as a whole.

On the other hand bourgeois ideologists and their agents, attempting to diffuse and obliterate the qualitatively new boundary in social development that is associated with construction of socialist society, intentionally ignore the fact that nonsocialist economic principles still exist in the transitory period, especially in its first stages (and are sufficiently influential), and that an unrelenting struggle proceeds between socialist and antisocialist forces in accordance with the principle of winner take all, and so on. This is precisely why the transitory period is a necessary and inevitable stage of the origin or "birth" of socialist society. And as the experience of a number of the world's countries now demonstrates, understatement of the importance and complexity of this period or overstatement of the strength of the socialist structure in this stage harbor serious consequences. The main historical task

of the transitory period is to build the foundations of socialist society. Confirmation of the principles of socialism and its foundations in all spheres of social life--this occurred in the USSR in the mid-1930s--marked the completion of the transitory period. The socialist social system began to function and develop on its own foundation. Social antagonisms and the class struggle disappeared from social life, and the unity of the people grew continually stronger.

While socialism, the first phase of the communist formation, differs qualitatively from the transitory period, it is entirely obvious that it also differs fundamentally from the capitalist social formation. But the ideological enemies of Marxism-Leninism ignore this decisive fact in their interpretations of the place of socialism in history and its essence.<sup>6</sup> Considering the popularity of socialism in the laboring environment, they manipulate this term and introduce into it whatever content they wish, using the word "socialism" as a screen behind which to try to preserve the old exploitative social structure. The West German communist journal MARXISTISCHE BLÄTTER wrote in this regard that bourgeois ideologists who resort to "socialist" symbols understand that criticism of real socialism from the positions of open defense of private ownership and other capitalist principles would not encounter support from the laboring masses. This is why they try to use more "subtle" tricks to brainwash the people with the objective of "turning socialism from science to Utopia." The main thing they wished to accomplish was to excise the true content of the socialist state structure.<sup>7</sup> This conclusion is confirmed by many facts.

As an example proponents of the "convergence" conception belonging to the so-called neoliberal wing of anticommunism assert that traits inherent to socialism have become inherent to capitalism as well in modern conditions. Or they suggest the version that although socialism does differ from capitalism, they are "growing closer together" today.<sup>8</sup> In the end, "convergence" of different societies will lead in the future to formation of a new type of society, one which will be neither capitalist nor socialist, but rather some sort of "hybrid." The adherents to the traditional direction in anticommunism assert that socialism is undergoing "degradation" and "degeneration."<sup>9</sup> The proponents of the "radical left" direction of anticommunism appeal for revolutionary overthrow of both existing capitalism (though essentially only in words) and real socialism, especially in the USSR. In a word, irrespective of the nuances existing in their viewpoints, the representatives of all directions of anticommunism grossly distort the socialist reality, and concur in their rejection of the place of socialism in history.

Practical experience and life have shown that socialism is a relatively lengthy phase of the communist formation, one distinguished by a dynamic and rapid rate of development of social life. Hence follows the inevitability of the stages and periods of function and improvement of socialist society itself as an integral social organism.

The idea that the first phase of the communist formation, which played an important role in formation of the conception of developed socialism, is relatively lengthy is deeply grounded by V. I. Lenin. The historical mission

of socialism, he believes, is to "prepare--to prepare by work over a large number of years--the transition to communism."<sup>10</sup> The idea of progressive development of socialist society toward communism is also thoroughly grounded in Lenin's works. "Communism," emphasized Lenin, "...is a higher form of society, and it may develop only after socialism is fully consolidated."<sup>11</sup> This notion of progressive development of society logically presupposes the idea of different stages or steps in the maturation of socialism in the course of its movement toward communism. Hence follows the scientific nature and depth of Lenin's conclusion concerning achievement of the stage of developed socialist society, that the transition to complete communism is possible only "from conclusively victorious and consolidated socialism."<sup>12</sup> For the first time in Marxist literature Lenin used the concept "developed socialist society."<sup>13</sup>

Deepening the Marxist-Leninist teaching on socialist society and rendering it more concrete, the CPSU and other fraternal properties came to the conclusion that socialism proceeds through two basic stages in its development on the path to the highest phase--communism: 1) consolidation of socialism, construction of mature socialist society; 2) improvement of developed socialism and gradual transition to the highest phase of communism.

Ignoring these scientific conclusions, which reflect the objective stages of social progress, anticommunists perpetually assert that the conception of developed socialism supposedly came into being only because "another postponement in construction of communist society" was supposedly required, because a need for justifying the difficulties and delays in this effort had supposedly come into being, and so on.<sup>14</sup> Some bourgeois "Sovietologists" feel that development of this conception was elicited by the CPSU's "departure" from its course toward attainment of communism.<sup>15</sup> Thus, deeply distorting the Marxist-Leninist conception of developed socialism, V. Brus, a Polish emigrant and economist, writes that the CPSU supposedly bases itself on the idea that "developed socialist society...is in no way limited by time: It may go on indefinitely."<sup>16</sup>

What can be said concerning such fundamentally false premises? First, developed socialism is not an artificial theoretical construct proposed, as anticommunists try to portray, to "justify prolongation" of socialism. It is a real, natural stage in social development along the path to communism, one characterized by qualitative determinacy and by its own criteria.

"This is a society," it was emphasized at the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "in which an economic base, a social structure and a political system corresponding to socialist principles have already been completely created, in which socialism is developing, as is commonly expressed, on its own collective foundation."<sup>17</sup>

The increasingly stronger integrity of socialism as a social system is an important criterion of mature socialist society. It is also characterized by other criteria and traits, ones which are being actively studied by Soviet social scientists.<sup>18</sup>



Second, the CPSU has in no way "departed" from its end goals of communist construction, as is evidenced by documents of the 26th CPSU Congress and of subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, and by Comrade K. U. Chernenko's speech at a meeting of the CPSU Central Committee commission to prepare a new edition of the Party Program. In general, the presently existing Program correctly characterizes the goals and basic tasks in the struggle of the Soviet people for communism. It is precisely because the strategic tasks associated directly with construction of communism have not yet been completed that not another Program, but a new edition of the third CPSU Program is being written. It will make it possible to eliminate the discrepancies, revealed by experience between certain provisions of the existing Program and the real course of social development, and to surmount the simplistic notion that had existed for a certain period of time concerning the paths and time of transition to the highest phase of communism. In this regard the Program must place its main emphasis on the historically foreseeable future. "...the Program must be a program for improving developed socialism," emphasizes Comrade K. U. Chernenko. "It is in the course of improvement of developed socialism that a gradual advance toward communism is occurring."<sup>19</sup>

Anticommunists do not want to or cannot understand the dialectics of the interaction between developed socialism and the highest phase of communism. Its essence is that further improvement of mature socialism concurrently means gradual accumulation of the elements or rudiments of communism, and confirmation of communist principles in the final analysis. Providing guidance to all spheres of social life, the CPSU also takes account of the fact that developed socialism is functioning and realizing its advantages with increasing fullness, and that simultaneously with this, the prerequisites for transition to communism are being created. The guarantee of success in further improvement of developed socialism and its transition into communism lies in realistic consideration of the requirements of the laws of socialism and, concurrently, the ability to envision the elements of the highest phase of the communist formation.

"We are talking about a strategy of advance toward communism," emphasizes Comrade K. U. Chernenko, "which has nothing in common with either sluggishness in actions or skipping historically necessary stages of development. What we are saying is that on the road to the highest goals of the party, we still have to solve many large and complex problems related in origin and character to the first phase of the communist formation. Specifically speaking, herein lies the main content of the great and hard work being done today to improve developed socialism."<sup>20</sup>

Revealing the dialectical contradictions internally inherent to socialism (for example between continuous growth of productive forces and the falling behind of certain elements of productive relations), surmounting objective difficulties and shortcomings elicited by poor work and by mismanagement in certain areas, and so on, and fighting with surviving phenomena alien to the nature of socialism--egoistic habits, the desire to "wrest" more from society and give to it less, and so on, by its policy and multifaceted activity the CPSU is insuring timely resolution of the contradictions and elimination of the obstacles and promoting forward movement of society on the path toward communism.

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Bourgeois ideologists try to represent the process of improvement of developed socialism as that of surmounting some sort of "crisis" in the social system. Today, in place of the previously widespread assertions of "convergence" of socialist and capitalist societies, of a "hybrid" model of society, their publications have started to intensively propagandize a new "crisis" model of socialism. The frequency with which it is declared (including by state officials) that socialism has supposedly come to a dead end, that its days are numbered, is growing. Class enemies are trying primarily to cancel out the achievements of the Soviet people in developing the material-technical base of society and various sectors of the national economy, and to discredit public ownership of the means of production, the socialist planning system and so on.

Inasmuch as the material (production-economic) sphere is the most important one of social life, we must first of all consider the struggle of ideas centering on the economic problems of developed socialism.

Anticommunists endeavor to demonstrate the "conservatism" and "backwardness" of state ownership of the means of production, and they are exaggerating the notion that this form of ownership is supposedly typical only of economically undeveloped countries, that it cannot lead to true public ownership, to socialism.<sup>21</sup> In this case they often try to draw a contrast between Marxism and Leninism. In an article with the pretentious title "The Crisis of So-Called 'Real Socialism',"<sup>22</sup> the French political scientist Zhan-Mari Shov'ye [transliteration] makes an effort to demonstrate that Marx supposedly interpreted socialism as a form of public ownership of the means of production presupposing, Shov'ye writes, "the actions of united producers (that is, social self-control)." Leninism, on the other hand, in Shov'ye's opinion, interprets socialism as state ownership and authoritarian planning.

It must be emphasized that contrasting the viewpoints of Marx and Lenin concerning the problems of socialist public ownership is devoid of all grounds. It is well known that Marx spoke out decisively in favor of national centralization of the means of production<sup>23</sup>--that is, for their transformation into state property, something that was discussed much earlier in the "Communist Party Manifesto."<sup>24</sup> Revealing the essence of his ideas on the form of socialization under socialism, Lenin clearly stated: "The objective of socialism is transformation of all means of production into the property of all the people, and not at all the surrender of courts to court workers and of banks to bank workers."<sup>25</sup>

The experience of socialist construction in many countries confirmed the truth of Marxist-Leninist ideas on the state (whole people's) form of public ownership as the basis of socialism. Such ownership is defined in the new USSR Constitution as the fundamental form of socialist ownership. This form is precisely what permits transformation of the economy of mature socialism into a single complex including enterprises in the state and kolkhoz sectors, all sectors and regions and all units of social production. Developing according

to plan, the mighty national economic complex makes solution of complex economic and social problems possible. It stands to reason that there are difficulties and unsolved problems in our country's economic development. But they have never been brought about, and they are not being brought about now, by the nature of public, collective ownership. On the contrary the advantages of such ownership make it possible to surmount obstacles and solve the arising problems more successfully.

The USSR's economic development collided with a number of difficulties in the late 1970s and early 1980s: Growth in labor resources decreased owing to an unfavorable demographic situation, and the expenses of developing the natural riches of Siberia and the Far East, of implementing integrated specific-purpose programs and of protecting the environment are increasing. Large shortfalls in agricultural products over a period of a number of bad harvest years is having an effect. Nor can we ignore the fact that the effort directed at improving and reorganizing the economic mechanism and the forms and methods of control has fallen behind the requirements imposed by the level of development of Soviet society.

Speculating in every possible way on the contemporary problems of the Soviet economy's development, anticommunists are not sparing any somber colors in its portrayal. Notions that the Soviet economy is "stagnating," that the USSR is falling farther and farther behind in scientific-technical respects and so on are propagandized on the pages of bourgeois publications. Bourgeois "experts" on the Soviet Union are making an effort to persuade the public that "ultra-rigid" centralized planning is supposedly the reason behind what they conceive of as "economic losses" in the USSR; concurrently they recommend a return to a "marketplace economy"--that is, to "free enterprise"--as the cure.<sup>26</sup>

The myth of the USSR's "economic stagnation," of Soviet society's supposed "inability" to make adequate use of the fruits of the scientific-technical revolution and so on do not withstand criticism. They are completely refuted by concrete facts. It is well known that the Soviet economy is developing at a stable rate, surpassing for example the rate of growth of the USA's economy. Thus in the last 5 years national income increased by 19 percent in the USSR and by 6 percent in the USA. Industrial production increased by 18 percent in our country and by only 1 percent in the United States; growth in industrial labor productivity was 14 percent in the Soviet Union and only 3 percent in the USA during the same period.<sup>27</sup> Owing to the indisputable advantages of the socialist economic system the Soviet people have managed to dependably defend their revolutionary accomplishments and achieve military and strategic parity with the USA in complex international conditions.

The CPSU views raising the effectiveness of the economy as a program task of priority importance. The ways of accomplishing this task are spelled out in documents of party congresses and CPSU Central Committee plenums, and in decrees concerned with economic development. They include change in the direction of the economy toward intensification, all-out introduction of the accomplishments of scientific-technical progress, improvement of the forms of control and development of the initiative and activity of the masses.

Implementation of the decisions of the November (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum made the Soviet economy more dynamic. Many economic indicators improved and labor productivity began to grow faster in 1983 and 1984. The decisions of the December (1983), February and April (1984) plenums of the party Central Committee are aimed at developing positive tendencies in the economy more actively and insuring unconditional fulfillment of planned quotas in 1984 and in the five-year plan as a whole.

As far as the "advice" of bourgeois economists concerning rejection of centralized planning, introduction of "free play" of prices and other attributes of the "marketplace economy" is concerned, it should be recalled that throughout the 1970s the capitalist economic system, upon which bourgeois ideologists lavish so much praise, suffered its deepest crisis since the war, the consequences of which are still being felt today. A forecast of the capitalist economy in the years 1990 and 2000 developed by the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences attests to the inevitability of deep crises, recessions and depressions in the future as well. The growth rate of the capitalist economy is expected to be lower than in the 1950s-1960s.<sup>28</sup>

One of the principal faults in the model of "marketplace socialism" proposed by bourgeois and revisionist ideologists is that it ignores the unique features of socialist commodity production and the action of the laws of value under socialism. Consider also that, for example, although the law of value does play an important role in Soviet society, it is one that is limited and subordinate in relation to the principal laws of socialism (planned and proportionate development of the national economy, distribution in relation to quantity and quality of labor and so on), and that it is these laws that express its essence most fully.

The economy of developed socialism is being managed on the basis of Lenin's ideas on planned administration of the economy in combination with utilization of the instrument of commercial-financial relations and *khozraschet*; on application of the principles of material interest and spiritual stimuli to labor; on labor discipline, the production activity of the masses and so on. These ideas were an exceptionally fruitful theoretical basis for the economic mechanism which is now functioning in developed socialist society as well. The principle at its basis is the principle of democratic centralism, the essence of which is a combination of democracy and the wide initiative of laborers on one hand and centralized control organized on a scientific basis on the other.<sup>29</sup>

No matter what bourgeois ideologists say, it is precisely owing to unified, centralized and concurrently democratic national economic planning that developed socialism is able to insure continuous economic growth, and is oblivious to the crises and cyclic fluctuations in the economy that plague capitalist society. Thus in 1981-1982 the USSR's national income increased by 5.3 percent, or by 23.1 billion rubles (in comparable prices); industrial production increased by 6.3 percent, or by 43 billion rubles. In many developed capitalist countries, meanwhile, there was no growth in industrial production volume during this period of time.<sup>30</sup>



It is asserted in the bourgeois literature that in socialist society, "people serve production."<sup>31</sup> This assertion, which is so widespread in anticommunist writings, is absolutely unfounded. Under socialism, the immediate motive force and the end goal of production combine into an indivisible whole--satisfaction of the constantly developing material and spiritual needs of the members of the society. It is upon this that the social and economic strategy of the CPSU is invariably based. In the last decade the USSR implemented major national measures to increase wages, pensions, assistance and so on. The population's real income increased by a time and a half during the 9th and 10th five-year plans. Sixteen billion rubles were allocated in the 11th Five-Year Plan just to centralize measures for raising wages and other payments and benefits to the public.<sup>32</sup> Developed by the party, the USSR Food Program is directed at significantly increasing agricultural production and dependably providing food to the population.

Concurrently the capitalist structure continually demonstrates its antihumanitarian essence, its hostility toward the working man. In crises, bourgeois states try to solve their problems at the expense of the working people. Real wages in the USA, England, FRG, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Australia and other countries decreased in recent years. Allocations for social needs are being cut, which is causing an increase in the army of the unfortunate. The number of unemployed is about 35 million just in the developed capitalist countries alone, and it increased by almost four times over the 1970 level.<sup>33</sup>

The superiority of the socialist economy over the economic system of capitalism is predetermined primarily by the objective laws of interaction between socialist production relations and productive forces. The collective nature of the means of production makes conflicts nonantagonistic. Owing to scientific leadership on the part of the Communist Party, as conflicts between productive forces and certain aspects of production relations mature, socialist society is able to resolve these conflicts consciously and systematically, and it resolves them in the interests of all laborers. This is why conflicts do not evolve here into a universal social conflict; they are a source of further progressive development of this means of production.

At the same time Marxist-Leninists have no intention of drawing an idyllic picture of economic progress under socialism. The socialist economy is developing, and it is surmounting conflicts and difficulties. Contradictory situations can be revealed in particular in phenomena such as scarcities of certain goods, growth in production expenses and so on. The conflicts between the great possibilities that have been created by developed socialism and their inadequate, sometimes incompetent utilization still make themselves frequently known.

A number of highly important goals that are the object of the party's priority attention were pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, in subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and in statements made by CPSU Central Committee general secretary, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade K. U. Chernenko and other executives of the party and the Soviet state.

Along with a significant growth in labor productivity in the entire national economy and improvement of the economy's control; universal introduction of an effectively operating system of stimuli--moral and material--which would encourage people to work with a maximum return, and to constantly upgrade product quality. The CPSU is persistently working to increase the level of ideological and political indoctrination of the Soviet people and their conscious attitude toward labor and socialist property, and it is raising the widest masses for a struggle for discipline and culture in work, in social life and in the home. The party sees all of this as a necessary condition for successful attainment of the main strategic goal--that of improving developed socialism.

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Defining the prospects of the struggle of the working class and its allies for its social ideal, V. I. Lenin explained: "...our goal is equality, meaning annihilation of classes. This means that we must also annihilate the class difference between workers and peasants. This is precisely our goal."<sup>34</sup> Working toward it, under the leadership of the Communist Party the Soviet people built developed socialist society, in which relationships of friendship and cooperation, and true collectivism confirmed themselves between classes and social groups and are presently undergoing improvement.

Anticommunists are striving to distort the nature, essence and prospects of further changes in the social-class structure of developed socialist society. Their viewpoints often reduce to attempts to demonstrate the "sameness" of the social structure and the processes of its change in any "industrial society." The hidden goal of such attempts is to pit the working class against the cooperative peasantry and socialist intelligentsia, and to undermine the sociopolitical unity of socialist society as it really is. The technocratic idea that the intelligentsia plays an extraordinary role can be clearly discerned in the notions of ideological adversaries of Marxism-Leninism on social life within the model of "socialist society" they create.<sup>35</sup>

Scientific research shows that in the stage of developed socialism, significant changes are occurring in the social structure of society: The working class is becoming the most numerous social group, and it is progressing qualitatively; changes are occurring in the social structure of the peasantry: That part of it which is employed in mechanized forms of labor is growing; the intelligentsia is transforming into a large and quickly growing social stratum; intensive convergence of all classes and social groups in the society is occurring.

Developed socialist society consists of kindred classes and social groups of laborers brought together by unity of fundamental interests and goals and by significant traits in common. Equality of the members of mature socialist society manifests itself in that they are all party to public ownership, they receive the products of labor in accordance with a principle of socialism common to all: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor"; they all possess equal rights and responsibilities. It is noteworthy that the concept "social uniformity" is used in party documents in application to the present stage of Soviet society's development.

It must be emphasized that socialist social uniformity is not yet complete, just as social equality inherent to the first phase of the communist formation is not complete. It may be said that the main trend in further progress of the social-class structure of developed socialist society is one toward complete social uniformity and communist equality. Interpreting development of Soviet society in distorted fashion, contrary to the objective trends, bourgeois ideologists portray the matter in such a way that Soviet society appears to be "splitting" into classes, strata and groups that are hostile to one another. In their opinion it is undergoing "intense differentiation," which may supposedly lead to gradual transformation of the USSR into a society of the "pluralistic type" like Western industrial societies.<sup>36</sup> Bourgeois sociologists and politicians such as F. Parkin, S. Lipset, S. Miller, P. Morris [transliterations] and others believe that inequality and social differentiation are inherent, "functionally necessary" in any social system, and "permanent." In the spirit of these ideas they propagandize the notion that classes are an intransient category, and that the Marxist prediction of a classless society is supposedly nothing more than Utopia. Such viewpoints are stated in particular in the American edition of "Marxism, Communism and Western Society."<sup>37</sup>

In his article "Social Transformations in the Era of Developed Socialism. Latest Trends in Soviet Ideology," the American political scientist Alfred Evans portrays the matter as if concrete reality in the USSR confirms the utopian nature of the Marxist ideal of a classless society, and as if the CPSU has gone almost as far as to reject this ideal. In any case, he writes, the solution to the problem of surmounting class differences in the Soviet Union is now being "postponed" indefinitely.<sup>38</sup>

All of these assertions are false from start to finish. Here is the reality: In the period of developed socialism, changes in the socioeconomic, cultural and other spheres of social life occurring under the profound influence of the working class and CPSU policy are intensively erasing social-class differences. This is manifested in the following: 1) Traits of similarity between workers and peasants are becoming more visible in terms of their relationship to ownership of the means of production; 2) classes and the intelligentsia, and rural and urban residents are converging more and more in the nature and conditions of their labor; 3) they are converging in terms of general educational and cultural level, which is constantly growing in the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution; 4) differences between classes and social groups are being erased in terms of income, cultural life and so on; 5) all categories of the population are converging in terms of the conditions of their spiritual life; 6) the traits of their way of life are becoming increasingly more similar. All of this is promoting unification of the Soviet people--a new historical (social and international) community of people, and growth in the social uniformity of the society.

It stands to reason that there are still many complex problems to be solved, and difficulties to be overcome. As an example, as was noted at the November (1981) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, about 40 percent of industrial workers are still employed in manual labor, while the quantity in construction and in the services is even greater.<sup>39</sup> The goal of the integrated program to reduce



manual labor and especially heavy labor, is to intensify mechanization and automation of production processes and, on this basis, to displace simple physically heavy labor. Socialism harbors enormous possibilities for sensible solution of the problems in the life of the popular masses.

The CPSU is attentively analyzing new phenomena in the social-class structure of developed socialism and making a contribution to the Marxist-Leninist teaching on development of classless society. Having generalized the experience of Soviet society's development in recent decades, the 26th CPSU Congress proposed the important theoretical premise that "in the main, the society will assume a classless structure within the historical framework of mature socialism."<sup>40</sup>

Great is the significance of this conclusion. First, it follows from it that the two friendly classes--workers and peasants--will not exist until the time of complete communism, as had been thought earlier: Class differences between them will be erased and they will disappear within the historical framework of mature socialism. Second, this conclusion stimulates the socioeconomic policy and all of the practical activity associated with convergence of the working class and kolkhoz peasantry. The reference here is to the processes of interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration, to gradual transformation (as the objective conditions mature) of kolkhoz-cooperative ownership into socialist public ownership. Third, assumption of a classless structure "in the main" will signify confirmation of a structure which corresponds to socialist public ownership alone, established in all sectors of the national economy. But at this stage of development the society will not have attained complete social uniformity and complete social equality of people--that is, it will not yet be communist. Thus two stages clearly take shape in the lengthy and complex process of attainment of complete social uniformity: A stage in which class differences are surmounted "in the main," and a stage in which the vestiges of classes are finally erased, in which not only division into classes but also the old division of labor will disappear.

Such are the prospects of the social progress of mature socialist society. They are determined by Marxist-Leninist science, the latest accomplishments of which are at the basis of the strategy for improving developed socialism, and which serve as new evidence of the viability and strength of the revolutionary theory of world transformation. The sterile flowers of anticommunism and revisionism perish before this truth.

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"Formation of a classless socialist society, which will become an important stage on the road to complete social uniformity," noted Comrade K. U. Chernenko "will doubtlessly also promote significant changes in the entire superstructure."<sup>41</sup> In the conditions of developed socialism, major changes occur in the political life of society on the basis of economic and social progress. A Marxist analysis reveals the following characteristic traits of the political system of developed socialist society:

Political power is now represented not by the dictatorship of a single class but as the power of the whole people, led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard;



the whole people's state expresses the will and interests of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, and the laborers of all of the country's nations and nationalities;

sociopolitical organizations and labor collectives are actively participating in management of state and public affairs and in solution of political, economic, social and cultural problems;

the Communist Party, which has become the vanguard of the whole people, is the leading and guiding force of society, the core of its political system;

democracy has a truly whole-people's nature, and it insures active participation of laborers in the state's life, and combination of the real rights and liberties of citizens with their responsibilities to society;

further improvement of socialist democracy is the principal direction of development of the society's political system.

The main direction taken in the attacks by anticommunists on the political system of developed socialism can be discerned primarily as their attempts to discredit ideas concerning the socialist state and the Communist Party and concerning the role of these political institutions in the life of society. This is done surreptitiously, sometimes even behind the mask of defending the ideas of "authentic Marxism," concerns for the "purity" of socialism and so on.

Thus the West German political scientist K. Preller sees a great divergence between the provisions of the existing USSR Constitution concerned with strengthening socialist statehood and the ideals of Marxism, according to which, in his estimation, under socialism state power would supposedly "wither away and give way to free public control."<sup>42</sup> Mildly speaking, such assertions--they are highly numerous in the bourgeois literature--are not in keeping with the truth.

Exercising leadership over the development of socialist democracy in the modern era, the CPSU is pursuing the objective of strengthening socialist self-control and gradually developing communist self-control. The system of Soviet democracy is functioning and improving, finding ever-newer forms and methods of widening the rights and possibilities of the working man in production and in all sociopolitical practice--from deputy commissions and people's control to permanent production conferences. These are in fact evidence of real socialist self-control by the people, developing in the course of construction of communism. Experience confirms the correctness of the course toward optimum combination and all-out improvement of both state and social (nonstate) forms of socialist self-control by the people.

Traveling the historical path of its development, socialist society passes through a stage of dictatorship of the proletariat, and then, in the conditions of victorious socialism, it embarks upon a stage referred to by Marx as the statehood of communist society.<sup>43</sup> The CPSU deserves credit for the fact that in attentively analyzing the processes of social development under socialist conditions, and relying upon the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, it made the

theoretically and practically important conclusion that the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat has transformed into a socialist whole-people's state, as is documented in the new USSR Constitution.

The CPSU's scientifically grounded conclusion that the state of developed socialist society has a whole-people's nature is being subjected to savage attacks by bourgeois ideologists, reformists and revisionists.<sup>44</sup> What they bring up as an "argument" against the socialist whole people's state is that Marx, Engels and Lenin often spoke against abuse of the concept "the people" when describing a state. But what they are ignoring here is the fact that the classics of Marxism-Leninism had the bourgeois state in mind. On the other hand Lenin, for example, felt it unconditionally possible and necessary to use this concept in relation to a socialist state. In his work "State and Revolution" he associated the need for the existence of a state under socialism not with suppression of some hostile classes, inasmuch as they have been eliminated, but rather with fulfillment of functions concerned with protecting public property, educating the people, maintaining control over the volume of labor and consumption and so on. V. I. Lenin foresaw that in socialist society, the state will exercise the will of the whole people. Replying to the question as to how all members of the society could participate in the affairs of the state at that time, he prophetically explained: "Through 'direct popular law' of a unique sort, a new sort, which Engels rejected under capitalism."<sup>45</sup> The USSR's experience wholly confirmed this scientific forecast.

Under the guidance of the CPSU the socialist whole people's state is successfully continuing the work of the proletarian dictatorship, solving the problems of communist construction, rendering comprehensive support to revolutionary movements and fighting for peace and security of all nations.

Experience shows that as it develops and improves, the system of socialist democracies does not cease to be a class system. The fact that in the period of developed socialism socialist democracy exists as democracy for all the people attests to the greater strength of the positions of the working class in society, and to the fact that the fundamental interests of this class and of all other groups of laborers are closely united, and fused into one. This is why performance of a dominant role by the working class, headed by the Marxist-Leninist party, is a guarantee of correct and effective operation of the system of socialist popular rule--the highest type of democracy, as the theory of scientific socialism teaches us.

The decades of socialist construction persuasively demonstrated that without a Marxist-Leninist party, without the power of the working class in union with the laborers, without socialist statehood, in the absence of these prerequisites, there has never been and could not be a way to reach socialism and, equally so, there could not be the existence of socialist society itself.

The ideologists of anticommunism understand that Marxism-Leninism is precisely the scientific basis for improving developed socialism, the basis of the people's spiritual unity. Hence their desire to undermine the influence of Marxist-Leninist science and ideology by all possible means, and at least under

the banner of ideological "pluralism." Their aim is to make Marxism cease being the "official state doctrine," and instead to "implement it only in free confrontation with other cultural, ideological and philosophical conceptions." But behind the screen of "absolute freedom" of thoughts and conceptions, they are in fact stubbornly fighting, against Marxism-Leninism, tested by life, and the sole scientific ideology of the working class.

Attacking and slandering developed socialism, the enemies of Marxism-Leninism are trying to portray it in caricature form as a society that "thinks the same," as a society in which "total control" is exercised over the spiritual life of the people, and in which differences in thoughts and opinions are not permitted.<sup>46</sup>

In this case anticommunists are in a sense transplanting the laws of capitalism to a different, socialist soil. After all, it is precisely in capitalist society, in the presence of what seems like freedom of thought, like the "pluralism" of ideas and opinions, that the bourgeoisie is using a gigantic propaganda machine and information resources servicing the dominant class to manipulate the consciousness of the masses and to exercise their harsh and rough control over their opinions. As far as socialist society is concerned, here the mass media and propaganda resources are in the hands of the people themselves, and they serve their interests.

Quite naturally, different points of view are stated (including in the press) in developed socialist society during discussion of, for example, specific questions of economics or policy, and in this sense, a diversity of opinions does exist. Eloquent testimony to this can be found in the discussion of the basic directions for reforming the Soviet school, in which about 120 million persons took part. As a result about 100 additions, refinements and amendments were made in the final document.<sup>47</sup> But under socialism, in contrast to the situation in capitalist society, a diversity of opinions is not an expression of class struggle or antagonism of social forces or simply a deceitful political "game." In the stage of developed socialism, shared opinions on the main issues concerning construction of communism and the cardinal problems of the modern era are asserted in the presence of the ideological and political unity of all members of the society.

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Implementing the most diverse tactical methods of struggle in the face of the growing influence of real socialism, anticommunists are intensifying their attacks on the socialist social structure. Speculating on the difficulties, shortcomings and isolated mistakes that are still encountered, and exaggerating them in every possible way, bourgeois ideologists criticize and reject the most significant traits and principles of the socialist social structure as it really is--traits revealed by the theory of scientific communism and confirmed by social practice. "There foremost objective is to turn the people away from socialism."<sup>48</sup>

False ideas are dangerous in that on being rejected, they may return in a new guise. This is why a decisive and uncompromising struggle must be waged

against all falsifications of the theory and practice of developed socialism. Demonstrating more and more fully its advantages over capitalism, which has outlived its century, socialism is developing in accordance with laws discovered by Marxism-Leninism, wholly supporting the truth and vital nature of this teaching, so innovative in its spirit.

Clear evidence of this can be found in the conception of developed socialism, which is being enriched with new premises and conclusions. Representing the scientific foundation of the strategic course of the CPSU in the modern historical era, it is promoting attainment of the main objective of the party and people--systematic and comprehensive improvement of the society. "We can and must make our society adhere to the loftiest and the most demanding concepts of socialism," emphasizes Comrade K. U. Chernenko. "Concepts which were scientifically grounded by Marx, Engels and Lenin. Concepts which inspire the people of labor and the popular masses of the entire world to fight for socialism. Concepts which have never allowed us to relax with present achievements, and condone shortcomings and unfinished work."<sup>5</sup> The conception of developed socialism is one of the basic theoretical principles stated in the new edition of the CPSU Program that is now being prepared for publication, and a most important weapon in the struggle against modern anticommunism.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Chernenko, K. U., "Narod i partiya yediny. Rech' na vstreche s izbiratelyami Kuybyshevskogo izbiratel'nogo okruza g. Moskvy 2 Marta 1984 g." [The People and the Party Are One. Speech at a Meeting with Voters of the Kuybyshev Election District of the City of Moscow, 2 March 1984], Moscow, 1984, p 12.
2. Chernenko, K. U., "Vystupleniye na zasedanii Komissii TsK KPSS po podgotovke novoy redaktsii Programmy KPSS 25 aprelya 1984 goda" [Speech at a Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Commission to Prepare the New Edition of the CPSU Program, 25 April 1984], Moscow, 1984, p 14.
3. Lenin, V. I. "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 33, p 185.
4. See Ibid., Vol 36, pp 47, 49, 195, 199, 262 and elsewhere.
5. Trotskyite and reformist antiscientific conceptions have a great influence on such viewpoints. See for example "L'URSS: vic de gauche" (Editor, G. Marcel), Paris, 1982.
6. See Bettelheim, Ch., "Les luttes des classes en URSS. 3-eme periode 1930-1941. Les domines," Paris, 1982, p 306; "L'homme et la societe," Paris, No 65-66, 1982, pp 1-19.
7. See MARXISTISCHE BLÄTTER, No 4, 1980, p 80.
8. See Line, D., "Leninism: A Sociological Interpretation," Cambridge, 1981.



9. See Fisier-Koucher, E. (Editor), "Les interpretation du stalinisme," Paris, 1983
10. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 44, p 151.
11. Ibid., Vol 40, p 33.
12. Ibid., Vol 27, p 253.
13. See Ibid., Vol 36, p 139.
14. LE FIGARO, 23 February 1981.
15. See LA STAMPA, 25 February 1981.
16. REVUE EUROPEENNE DES SCIENCES SOCIALES, Paris, Vol 17, No 57, 1981, p 52.
17. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 14-15 iyunya 1983 goda" [Proceedings of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, 14-15 June 1983], Moscow, 1983, p 8.
18. See Koselapov, R. I. "Sotsializm. K voprosam teorii" [Socialism. Theoretical Problems], Moscow, 1975; Second Edition, revised and supplemented, Moscow 1979; Kas'yanenko, V. I., "Razvitoy sotsializm: istoriografiya i metodologiya problemy" [Developed Socialism: Historiography and Methodology of the Problem], Moscow, 1976; Medvedev, V. A., "Razvitoy sotsializm: vopros formirovaniya obshchestvennogo soznaniya" [Developed Socialism: Formation of Social Consciousness], Moscow, 1980, etc.
19. Chernenko, K. U., "Vystupleniye na zasedanii Komissii TsK KPSS po podgotovke novoy redaktsii programmy KPSS 17 aprelya 1984 goda," p 4.
20. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 10 aprelya 1984 goda" [Proceedings of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum 10 April 1984], Moscow 1984, p 5.
21. LE MOND, 8 November 1977; Steinberg, N., "Le socialisme sans perversion," Paris, 1980.
22. POLITIQUE AUJOURD'HUI, No 1-2, 1982, pp 14.
23. See Marks, K. and Engel's, F., "Soch." [Works], Vol 18, p 57.
24. See Ibid., Vol 4, p 446.
25. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 36, p 411.
26. L'EXPRESS, No 1564, 1981, p 45; "Soviet Economy in the 1980's: Problems and Perspectives," Washington, 1983; Seuret, F., "Inflation and Unemployment dans les pays socialistes," Paris, 1983, pp 9, 112; LES TEMPS MODERNES, Paris, June 1983, No 443, pp 2325-2336.

27. See PRAVDA, 2 March 1984.
28. See PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 10, 1979, p 50.
29. For greater detail, see "Marksistsko-leninskoye ucheniye o sotsializme i sovremennost'" [Marxist-Leninist Teaching on Socialism and Modern Times], Moscow, 1975, pp 71-82.
30. See ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No 8, 1983, p 1.
31. Samuel, A., "Le socialism," Paris, 1981, p 21.
32. See ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No 5, 1983, pp 6-7.
33. See "SSSR v tsifrakh v 1983 godu. Kratkiy stat. sbornik" [The USSR in Figures in 1983. Brief Statistical Collection], Moscow, 1984, p 74; PRAVDA, 10 June 1984.
34. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 38, p 353.
35. Cloechner, E., "Der sowjetische Ingenieur; in der industrielle Arbeitswelt. Eine soziologische Analyse der wissenschaftlich-technischen Intelligenz in der UdSSSR (1965 bis 1975)," Berlin (West), 1981; Markiewicz, O., "Marxism and the Reality of Power 1919-1980," London, 1981, p 323.
36. See Brockmann, J., "Die Differenzierung des sowjetischen Sozialstruktur," Berlin (W.), 1978, pp 162-166.
37. See "Marxism, Communism and Western Society. A Comparative Encyclopedia in Eight Volumes," Edited by C. D. Kernig, New York, 1972-1973, Vol 2, p 86.
38. See CO-EXISTENCE, Vol 17, No 1, April 1980, pp 58-82.
39. See PRAVDA, 17 November 1981.
40. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 53.
41. Chernenko, K. U., "Vystupleniye na zasedanii Komissii TsK KPSS po podgotovke novoy redaktsii Programmy KPSS," p 10.
42. HANNOVERSCHE ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, 10 June 1977.
43. See Marks, K. and Engel's, F., "Soch.," Vol 19, p 27.
44. POLITIQUE AUJOURD'HUI, Paris, No 1-2, 1979, pp 82-86.
45. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 33, p 272.
46. See POLITIQUE AUJOURD'HUI, No 1-2, 1979, pp 94, 96.

47. See "Materialy pervoy sessii Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR odinnadtsatogo sozyva. 11-12 aprelya 1984 goda" [Proceedings of the First Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, 11-12 April 1984], Moscow, 1984, p 29.
48. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS," p 9.
49. Chernenko, K. U., "Po-leninski zhit', rabotat', borot'sya. Rech' na Vsearmeyskom soveshchanii sekretarey komsomol'skikh organizatsiy 28 Maya 1984 goda" [Living, Working and Fighting in Leninist Style. Speech at the All-Army Conference of Komsomol Organization Secretaries, 28 May 1984], Moscow, 1984, p 9.

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## NATIONAL

### MOSFILM'S CHIEF DIRECTOR RESPONDS TO OFFICIAL CRITICISM

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by G. Kapralov, based on an interview with Mosfilm's general director: "Time Dictates"; "Mosfilm Today and Tomorrow"]

[Text] Every third film carries the Mosfilm trademark. In an interview with a PRAVDA correspondent, the general director of the film studio, N. T. Sizov, talked about today's concerns and about the films of tomorrow and the near future.

Nikolay Trofimovich said that the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers for measures to further increase the ideological and artistic level of motion pictures and to strengthen cinematography's material-technical base has established new, more favorable conditions for successfully resolving the creative and organizational tasks at all stages of the complex film process. We at Mosfilm sensed this at once. At the same time everything said in the decree in reproach, so to speak, of our general cinematographic work directly applies to Mosfilm too. Recently, the work of the party committee and the film studio's board of directors was discussed in the Buro of the Moscow City Party Committee. There we heard a lot that was unpleasant, but fair.

In particular, it was noted that, along with movies which found wide recognition and became outstanding events in cultural life, there have recently appeared a number of Mosfilm films which have not achieved a good name. Little attention is given to modern themes, and many productions lack civic maturity and depth in the reflection of life. Often films are made in a routine manner and lack meaningful conflicts and personalities. And the sad result is that the average number of viewers who even recently used to see every Mosfilm picture has decreased.

The party decisions have determined our program of activities. The generous help and thorough support of the party and state make us all happy, and the serious criticism of the deterioration of exactingness in creative work has motivated communists, the entire collective, artistic councils and the editorial boards of the studio and its creative associations to critically examine again and again everything that had been done up to then and that has to be done.



We have concentrated principal attention on creating new works devoted to the important problems of the spiritual and social development of our society, the indoctrination of the new man, and the Soviet people's struggle against the threat of war. The subject plans have been defined more precisely and enriched. These are just a few of the principal heroes of future films: a chairman of a kray ispolkom who, unexpectedly for him, is promoted to this post from the position of manager of a large Far Eastern port; a young plant director fascinated with the ideas of the scientific-technical revolution; a kolkhoz brigade leader who understands the demands of the times and is able to organize labor in a new manner; a talented beginning scientist who proposes innovative bold ideas and strives to put them into practice; a diplomat carrying out the high mission of envoy from the great peaceful land of Lenin in international negotiations for nuclear disarmament; and the commander and crew members of our military escort vessel, guarding the state border.

All of them, each in his own place, are engaged in solving the difficult tasks dictated by the times.

As though on a new round, work is continuing on films about our Motherland's glorious past and about the heroes of the revolution and the Great Patriotic War. A film about the first people's commissar of foreign affairs Georgiy Chicherin; pictures about the great Russian writer Aleksandr Griboyedov, the revolutionary events in Moscow in 1905, the suppression of the counterrevolutionary Kronstadt Revolt in 1921, and about the heroic resistance of the people of Novgorod to the Fascist invaders are among such productions. Well-known masters--Heroes of Socialist Labor Ye. Gabrilovich, A. Zarkhi, and Yu. Rayzman; playwrights, A. Shteyn, B. Metelnyuk, and V. Yezhov; and directors from different generations I. Talankin, N. Milbalkov, A. Saltykov, A. Sakharov, G. Daneliya, Yu. Karasik, G. Yegiazarov, L. Gayday and others--are participating in the creation of these films.

A number of films of great socio-economic significance will be made on state orders.

The motion picture is visual entertainment art. However, the creation of spectacle which is impressive by its scale and wealth of events, its colorfulness, and absorbing situations, and by that which is called, cinematographic effects is a very difficult business requiring special equipment and great expense. The decree is also stimulating work on pictures like these and our plans also provide for them in various genres, from the historical epic and high adventure film to the eccentric comedy and musical.

The very rich experience and traditions of the Soviet revolutionary art are highly appreciated by the world's progressive film artists, which is expressed in particular by their desire to collaborate creatively with Soviet colleagues. The decree also has created opportunities in this field. Mosfilm will shoot pictures about the friendship of the peoples of the USSR and the DPRK, the cultural ties between India and Russia, the Soviet-Polish brotherhood in arms bonded by blood in the battles against Hitlerism, and about the mutual sympathies of the Soviet people and the Italian workers. These and other films are to be produced in cooperation with cinematographers from the DPRK, India, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, the GDR, Italy, and the FRG.

It is natural that, as before, we will turn to Russian and world classics, that inexhaustible mine of artistic and humanist values. In their works the great authors knew how to raise and solve great social and philosophical questions and problems of morality and ethics, good and evil, and the destiny of mankind and of the people. For example, Pushkin's tragedy "Boris Godunov" is such a work and Hero of Socialist Labor S. Bondarchuk is working on the most difficult task of transferring it to the screen.

Regarding films which will be released in the very near future, work on the important picture "Pobeda" [Victory] based on A. Chakovskiy's novel (directed by Ye. Matveyev) will be completed this year. And for the festive occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Soviet People's victory in the Great Patriotic War, the studio will release the wide screen movie "Bitva za Moskva" [Battle for Moscow] (written and produced by Yu. Ozerov). This film will take the viewer back to these bleak days of the first winter of the war in 1941 when due to the unparalleled steadfastness and heroism of Soviet Army soldiers, city workers and all our people, the Fascist hordes were stopped at the approaches to the soviet capital and then defeated.

In the very near future A. Alav's and V. Naumov's film "Bereg" [The Bank] based on Yu. Bondarev's novel of the same name will be released on the wide screen. This film about the inseparable bond between the past and the present and about each person's responsibility for the preservation of peace on this planet has already been awarded one of the chief prizes of the 27th All-Union Festival.

The new film "Yevropeyskaya Istoriya" [A European History] (screen play by N. Leonov with the assistance of I. Gostev and directed by L. Gostev) will be released almost at the same time. Its action takes place during our time in one of the western European countries where a critical struggle between neo-Fascist advocates of missile armament and those who understand all the danger of the nuclear hullabaloo and frenzied antisovietism is developing.

Among the pictures examining the contemporary character, I will name "Vremya zhelaniye" [Time of Desires], screen play by A. Grebnev and directed by Yu. Rayzman, which consistently preserves the keen vision of an artistic viewpoint.

N. Gubenko's new picture "I zhizn, i slzy, i lyubov...." [And Life, and Tears, and Love....] affirming the beauty of the high spirituality and nobleness of man, has just been released on the screen.

"Zhestokiy Roman" [A Cruel Romance], a screen version of A. Ostrovskiy's "Bespridannitsa" [Girl Wityout a Dowry] accomplished by E. Ryazman, is among the Mosfilm films which viewers are anticipating. This time the master of comedy has emerged as a film interpreter of one of the tragic works of classical Russian drama.

It was pointed out at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee that Marxist-Leninist criticism should be the main method of influence on artistic creativity. In this connection it would be desirable that each

picture be thoroughly analyzed both from the aspect of its ideological and artistic virtues and from the viewpoint of its place in the development of our cinema.

There is also something for critics to think about and dispute in connection with the appearance of such films like "Chuchelo" [Scarecrow] (the authors of the screen play are V. Zheleznikov and R. Bykov and the director is R. Bykov); "Detskiy Sad" [Kindergarten] (written and directed by Ye. Yevtushenko); "Parad Planet" [Parade of Planets] (screen play by A. Mindadze and directed by V. Abdrashitov).

The first public viewings of "Chuchelo" caused heated discussions and occasionally controversy. But it could not be otherwise; after all, questions about the correct indoctrination of the younger generation concern literally everyone. And the picture with pointed and at times, in my opinion, excessive polemics raises the questions of morality in the school collective.

Controversies are also developing around Yevgeniy Yevtushenko's film "Detskiy Sad". This film consists of episodes (Kimokadry) of the poet's autobiography, his recollections of his youth which coincide with the years of national disaster and heroism and with the war years. What the boy saw and remembered and what the author-poet who has created the picture remembers and wants to talk about in this connection (he should know and see more and more broadly than his little hero) also requires critical analysis.

The screen play of the picture "Parad Planet" was published in the magazine *ISKUSSTVO KINO*. Its idea was precise and clear, which, in my opinion, one cannot always say about the screen production. A comparison of the script and the director's realization is also an interesting task for thorough criticism.

Naturally only a few works are named: you cannot list everything in a brief interview. After all by the end of this year and in the next 2 years alone Mosfilm will release more than 100 new pictures. Carrying out our plans on the level of the challenges of the time will require intensity of efforts, inspiration, and high exactingness.

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## NATIONAL

### WW II CP RESOLUTIONS ON LETTERS TO FRONT, BELORUSSIA PUBLISHED

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 8, Aug 84 (signed to press 30 Jul 84) pp 3-9

[Decree of the Politburo of the VKP(b) Central Committee on Measures to Hasten Delivery of Letters to the Front and Decree of the USSR Council of People's Commissars and the VKP(b) Central Committee on The Immediate Tasks of the Belorussian SSR Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Belorussian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) with commentary by Doctor of Historical Sciences K. M. Bogolyubov: "New Documents"]

[Text] The VKP(b) [All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)] Central Committee decree "On Measures to Hasten Delivery of Letters to the Front" dated 4 October 1941 and the decree of the USSR SNK [Council of People's Commissars] and the VKP(b) Central Committee "On The Immediate Tasks of the Belorussian SSR Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Belorussian KP (b) [Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)] Central Committee" dated 1 January 1944 are published below for the first time.\* These documents are new, clear evidence of the inspiring and organizing role played by the Communist Party, which headed the struggle of the Soviet people against the fascist German invaders, having mobilized all resources of the Soviet state for the defeat of the most reactionary strike force of imperialism--Hitler's fascism.

The war which was imposed upon the Country of the Soviets by Hitler's Germany and which entered the history of the Soviet people and the CPSU as the Great Patriotic War required our party to develop a clear program for switching the country's entire life to a war footing. A directive published by the USSR Council of People's Commissars and the VKP(b) Central Committee dated 29 June 1941 was such a program, embodying the immortal ideas of Lenin and his instructions on military protection of the socialist fatherland, "Everything for the front, everything for victory!"--such was the main idea of this most important document, an idea that became the fighting slogan of the Soviet people through all years of the war.

\* The 11th and last paragraph of this decree was published. See "Vse-narodnoye partizanskoye dvizheniye Belorussii v gody Velikoy Otechestvennoy Voiny" [The Whole People's Partisan Movement in Belorussia During the Great Patriotic War], Vol 3, Minsk, 1962, p 25.



The directive indicated the main directions of the activities and tasks of party and soviet organizations associated with transforming the country into a mighty war camp, welded together by a common goal--defeating and expelling the enemy from Soviet territory, and annihilating fascism. Later on the provisions of the directive dated 29 June 1941 were made specific and developed in other decisions of executive party and soviet organs. The documents published below are among such decisions.

Reorganization of ideological and political work on the basis of Lenin's instruction that "in any war, victory depends in the final analysis upon the morale of the masses which shed their blood on the field of battle"\* became an important task of the party with the beginning of the Great Patriotic War. The ties between the party and people had to be strengthened and widened even more, the people's sense of responsibility for the fate of the Soviet motherland had to be increased, and the spiritual forces of the Soviet people, the friendship of peoples and the unity of the front and the rear had to be strengthened.

The inseparable tie of soldiers of the front with laborers of the rear, of the motherland's defenders with their relatives and friends acquired enormous significance during the war. Herein lay the mighty source of the power of the Soviet Army. And the party did everything possible to see that such ties would continually grow and strengthen, to make the soldiers aware of the deeds, thoughts and dreams of the Soviet people in the rear, and constantly sense their moral support and the warmth in their hearts.

Personal letters sent to the front by millions of Soviet people and messages from labor collectives and laborers of entire rayons, oblasts and republics were filled with great love for the motherland's defenders and with fervent appeals to defend the honor and independence of the socialist fatherland. Together with the letters, rail cars bearing gifts traveled to the forward positions. And one can imagine how anxiously the friends and relatives of the soldiers waited for news from the front! There was nothing more precious. And when the long-awaited letters from the soldiers arrived, folded into simple triangles, how much joy they brought! This meant that the son or brother, the husband or father was still alive, this meant that he was still fighting, still pounding the hated fascists, this meant that our victory would come, most assuredly come!

Attaching enormous significance to ties between the front and the rear, and to correspondence between laborers and soldiers, on 4 October 1941 the Politburo of the VKP(b) Central Committee adopted the decree "On Measures to Hasten Delivery of Letters to the Front" (document No 1).

It noted shortcomings in deliveries of mail from the front and to the front and the inadequacies of the network of military mail sorting points that had developed by that time--inadequacies which delayed delivery of letters to army

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\* Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 121.

postal bases. The Central Committee decree called for decisive measures to organize efficient operation of all levels of the military field post office and to organize fast delivery of mail to the front, and from the front to the country's rear. Army political workers pledged to insure immediate delivery of mail to soldiers and commanders in the formations and units, to improve party-political work among personnel of the military field post office and to maintain systematic control over the activities of field post offices and army military postal bases.

Special emphasis should be laid on the fact that the VKP(b) Central Committee Politburo decree "On Measures to Hasten Delivery of Letters to the Front" was adopted on 4 October 1941--that is, a few days after the beginning of the general offensive of fascist German troops on Moscow, widely advertised by Hitler's propaganda. Even in a time as menacing as this, our party's Central Committee felt it possible and necessary to resolve the issue of hastening delivery of letters to the front. This was a clear manifestation of the Communist Party's unshakable faith in the strength and steadfastness of the Soviet people, and in the inevitability of our victory over fascism. It was also a reflection of the party's concern for the soldiers, who needed news from home to no lesser extent than they need cartridges and grenades: It strengthened their morale and their preparedness to fight the enemy selflessly, and win.

It was under different conditions, on 1 January 1944, that the USSR SNK and the VKP(b) Central Committee adopted the decree "On the Immediate Tasks of the Belorussian SSR Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Belorussian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)" (document No 2).

By this time, despite the absence of a second front in West Europe, a fundamental turning point occurred in the war. It was marked by the defeat of German troops at the battle of Stalingrad and by our victories in engagements at the Kursk salient, at the Dniepr and in other operations. In late fall 1943 the Red Army liberated almost a sixth of Belorussia. The Red Banner once again fluttered over one of the republic's 10 oblast centers--Gomel.

It was for 3 years that the people of Belorussia lived on temporarily occupied territory and selflessly fought the enemy. During this period of time the Germans devastated the cities and towns, razed and burned numerous industrial enterprises, cultural institutions and tens of thousands of homes, and completely annihilated sovkhoses and kolkhozes. Liberated regions of the republic and their population required immediate aid.

The most important and immediate tasks of the Belorussian SSR Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Belorussian KP(b) associated with the fastest possible rehabilitation of the national economy in the republic's liberated regions, laid waste by the enemy, with housing construction and with providing comprehensive assistance to the population in restoring normal life were the focus of the 1 January 1944 decree of the USSR SNK and the VKP(b) Central Committee. Concurrently, because the war was still going on, and because the beginning of operation "Bagration," in the course of which Soviet troops liberated all of Belorussia, was still almost half a year away, the decree appealed for even wider initiation of the whole people's partisan

movement, for disorganization of the enemy rear and for rescue of the population from extermination and from being driven away into fascist Germany.

The decrees published here will be included in Volume 7 of the new, ninth edition of the collection "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezдов, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Central Committee Plenums].

No 1. Decree of the Politburo of the VKP(b) Central Committee "On Measures to Hasten Delivery of Letters to the Front," 4 October 1941

The VKP(b) Central Committee resolves that letters are presently being delivered to the front and from the front to the rear extremely slowly. Mail traveling to the front is subjected to numerous instances of unloading while en route. It is unloaded for inspection by military censorship organs at some stops, and for sorting and distribution among the fronts and formations at other stops. In order to undergo inspection by military censorship, letters are often carried in the reverse direction from the front. Inadequacies in the presently developed network of military postal sorting points lead to formation of large piles of mail at these points and to its slower delivery to army postal bases.

Absence of discipline and irresponsibility exist in the work of many army postal bases and at field post offices. The chiefs of military postal bases and field post offices do not make an effort to see that troop units promptly sign out and sign in when they move. An enormous quantity of undelivered mail is accumulating at field post offices and bases.

In order to hasten the movement of printed material and mail to the front, the VKP(b) Central Committee decrees:

1. To obligate the People's Commissariat of Communications to take immediate steps to organize efficient operation of all levels of the military field postal service and to insure rapid delivery of mail to the front and from the front to the country's rear.
2. To instruct the USSR People's Commissariat of Communications and the People's Commissariat of Defense to additionally deploy and place into operation, not later than 10 October, military mail sorting points in the following cities: Vologda, Gorkiy, Kirov, Saratov, Stalingrad, Chkalov, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Novosibirsk, Irkutsk, Kazan, Tashkent, Semipalatinsk.

To obligate the Vologda, Gorkiy, Kirov, Saratov, Stalingrad, Chkalov, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Novosibirsk, Irkutsk and Tatar oblast committees of the VKP(b), the Central Committee of the Uzbek KP(b) and the Central Committee of the Kazakh KP(b) to see that that newly created military postal sorting points are furnished with the appropriate quarters for work.

3. To establish that military censorship of all mail traveling to the front must be conducted at the military mail sorting points themselves, and only at these points, while mail traveling from the front to the country's rear must be subjected to military censorship at army military postal bases.

To obligate military censorship organs to take not more than 24 hours to inspect mail traveling to the operational Red Army.

4. To obligate the People's Commissariat of Communications to insure dispatch of mail from military postal sorting points to the operational Red Army with the first departing train, prohibiting its retention until the following day.

5. To obligate the People's Commissariat of Communications and the formation and unit commissars to insure that all mail coming to field post offices is sent to the units and formations on the day of receipt, and that it is immediately delivered to soldiers and commanders in the units themselves.

6. In view of the especially poor services provided by postal communication to cavalry divisions, air divisions and tank brigades, to obligate Comrade Peresypkin\* to create field post offices with a reduced number of service personnel at all of these formations and at formations equal to them.

7. To assign the following duties to chiefs of army and formation political departments:

a) organization of party-political work among personnel of field post offices and improvement of the work of the party organizations of the field postal service;

b) establishment of military discipline in field postal organs;

c) systematic control over the work of field post offices and army military postal bases, over the delivery of mail to soldiers and commanders and over prompt sign-in and sign-out of units with field post offices, and of field post offices with bases in the even of change in locations of the units.

8. To obligate the USSR People's Commissar of Trade (the Main Directorate of Trade Enterprises for Military Personnel) and the People's Commissariat of Communications to organize trade in postal equipment and accessories in the operational Red Army.

Central Party Archives of the Institute  
of Marxism-Leninism, f. 17, op. 59, d. 434

No 2. Decree of the USSR SNK and VKP(b) Central Committee "On the Immediate Tasks of the Belorussian SSR Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Belorussian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)," 1 January 1944

In connection with liberation of part of the territory of the Belorussian SSR from German invaders, the USSR Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the VKP(b) decree:

\* Peresypkin, I. T. (1904-1978)--Soviet state and military official, marshal of signal troops. Member of the CPSU since 1925. In 1939-1944, USSR people's commissar of communications, and in 1941-1944, concurrently, the USSR deputy people's commissar of defense and chief of the Main Communications Directorate of the Red Army.



1. To treat rehabilitation of kolkhozes in regions of the Belorussian SSR liberated from the German invaders as the most important task of the Belorussian SSR Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Belorussian KP(b). For these purposes, to obligate the Belorussian SSR SNK and the Belorussian KP(b) Central Committee to immediately initiate an extensive program of the needed political, organizational and economic work to rehabilitate kolkhozes, so that kolkhozes in liberated regions would be rehabilitated in the course of January, February and March, and so that spring planting could be conducted at the kolkhoz farms in 1944.

With the purposes of completing the task of rehabilitating the kolkhozes as quickly as possible, to obligate the Belorussian SSR SNK and the Belorussian KP(b) Central Committee to implement the following practical measures:

a) to complete elections of kolkhoz boards of directors and inspection commissions by 15 February 1944, insuring that the kolkhoz boards of directors are made up of the best people, dedicated to the kolkhoz system and capable of practically rehabilitating and strengthening the kolkhozes;

b) in the period to 1 April 1944, to insure restoration of the boundaries between kolkhoz lands, to gather together horses and to prepare stables and the necessary quantity of feed for spring field operations by this time;

c) to rehabilitate 90 motor-tractor stations in regions liberated from the German invaders by spring 1944, returning motor-tractor stations that had been evacuated earlier from Belorussia together with 1,042 tractors, agricultural machines and equipment for this purpose prior to 15 February 1944;

d) to rehabilitate, by fall 1944, kolkhoz livestock, pig and sheep farms by returning kolkhoz animals that had been evacuated from Belorussia to eastern regions, by collecting from kolkhoz farmers all livestock which had previously belonged to kolkhoz farms and which was appropriated by kolkhoz farmers in the period of the German occupation, by purchasing livestock from eastern oblasts of the USSR and by purchasing young animals from kolkhoz farmers. To instruct the Belorussian SSR SNK, the Belorussian KP(b) Central Committee and the USSR People's Commissariat of Agriculture to submit, by 15 January 1944 to the USSR Council of People's Commissars, proposals on rehabilitating kolkhoz animal husbandry in liberated regions of the Belorussian SSR;

e) to initiate intensive preparations for spring planting--laying in grain, preparing horses and harnesses and manufacturing and repairing simple agricultural tools, completing all of this work by 14 March 1944.

2. To obligate the Belorussian SSR SNK and the Belorussian KP(b) Central Committee to procure 1.2 million poods of grain and 60,000 tons of potatoes from the 1943 harvest on a mandatory basis from regions liberated from fascist invaders in the period prior to 15 December 1943.

To obligate the Belorussian SSR SNK and the Belorussian KP(b) Central Committee to restore the administrative machinery of republic, oblast and rayon governments organs no later than 15 January 1944, supplying them with workers suitable

of practically insuring procurement of agricultural products, and to establish firm state discipline in the effort by kolkhozes, kolkhoz farmers and private farmers to fulfill their obligations to the state.

To obligate the Belorussian SSR SNK and the Belorussian KP(b) Central Committee to insure correct application of privileges concerned with state deliveries foreseen for farms belonging to Red Army soldiers, partisans, agricultural specialists and kolkhoz farmers in liberated regions of the Belorussian SSR by the USSR SNK and VKP(b) Central Committee decree "On Immediate Measures to Rehabilitate the Economy in Regions Liberated From the German Occupation" dated 21 August 1943.

3. Having in mind that presence of rivers, lakes and water basins in most Belorussian regions creates favorable possibilities for raising large quantities of fish and waterfowl--geese and ducks, and considering that extensive development of such an effort may seriously improve the material welfare of the kolkhozes and kolkhoz farmers within a short period of time and create a major additional source of valuable food products for the country, to obligate the Belorussian SSR SNK and the Belorussian KP(b) Central Committee:

a) to immediately initiate rehabilitation and further development of pond fish culture, organization of winter fishing in rivers and lakes and preparation of ponds for spring stocking with fast-growing fish--wild and domesticated carp, and organization of fishing brigades in kolkhozes and fishing cooperatives;

b) to immediately initiate a wide effort to propagate waterfowl and to create waterfowl farms in the kolkhozes;

c) to submit, by 15 February 1944 to the USSR SNK, a report on measures implemented to organize pond fish culture and fishing in natural rivers and lakes and to propagate waterfowl--ducks and geese, and to submit, by this deadline, a plan for organizing fish culture in the republic and creating large waterfowl farms at the kolkhozes, foreseeing in this plan the creation of one state fish hatchery in each oblast, creation of two incubation stations in each oblast and organization of waterfowl farms at not less than half of the kolkhozes in 1944 and in all kolkhozes of Belorussia by the middle of 1945.

4. Considering the especially important significance of uninterrupted operation of the Belorussian and Western railroads with the objective of supporting the operations of the Red Army, to obligate the Belorussian SSR SNK and the Belorussian KP(b) Central Committee to render all possible assistance to rail transportation in restoring tracks, bridges, stations, depots and water supply and in clearing snowdrifts, making sure that trains would not be stopped by faulty tracks or snow.

To adopt the necessary measures to repair highways, dirt roads and bridges, to install snow fences and to constantly maintain roads and bridges in passable condition, using the efforts of the local public.

5. In the area of rehabilitating industrial enterprises, to focus the attention of the Belorussian SSR SNK and the Belorussian KP(b) Central

Committee on the fastest possible start-up of, first of all, the industrial enterprises necessary for servicing the need of the front, for rehabilitating the economy and for satisfying the needs of the public. The following industrial enterprises will be restored on priority for these purposes: the Gomel Electric Power Plant, the Gomel Agricultural Machine Building Plant, the Kostyukovich Glass Plant, the Gomel Locomotive and Car Repair Plant, the Dobrush Writing Paper Factory, the Krichev Cement Plant, the match factories in Novo-Belitsa and Rechitsa, the Rechitsa Sawmill, the Rechitsa Millmaking Plant, the Rechitsa and Novo-Belitsa plywood plants and the Gomel Bakery. To instruct the Belorussian SSR SNK and the Belorussian Kfai Central Committee to submit, by 15 February 1944 to the USSR SNK jointly with the appropriate union people's commissariats, proposals on restoring these plants.

Considering that the population was ravaged in regions liberated from the fascist invaders and does not possess the necessary household articles, to obligate the Belorussian SSR SNK and the Belorussian Kfai Central Committee to take steps to develop production of consumer goods on the basis of local raw materials, using local industry, domestic craft shops and articles for this purpose.

6. To treat restoration and construction of new housing out of local construction materials in towns, cities and workers' settlements liberated from the German occupation as an immediate task of soviet and party organizations of the Belorussian SSR, so that kolkhoz farmers, laborers and white collar workers presently residing in huts and in destroyed areas could be provided with suitable housing.

With these purposes in mind, to immediately start up the work of local construction materials industry (lime, bricks, tiles), to provide kolkhoz farmers with timber from logging areas nearest to their settlements and to provide loans to kolkhoz farmers for restoration and construction of new homes. To encourage full development of individual and cooperative construction of housing by laborers and white collar workers, providing them assistance in loans, local construction materials and, to the extent possible, transportation.

7. To obligate the Belorussian Kfai Central Committee and the Belorussian SNK to take all steps to insure timely provision of prescribed assistance to the families of Red Army soldiers and partisans, to help disabled veterans of the Patriotic War to find housing and jobs, and to care for orphans.

With the objective of rendering immediate assistance to orphans, to obligate the Belorussian SSR SNK to organize special children's homes in Gomel, Minsk, Vitbsk and Mogilev oblasts prior to 1 April 1944, providing treatment for 3,000 children and children's reception and distribution centers for 100 children.

8. To obligate the Belorussian SSR SNK and the Belorussian Kfai Central Committee to restore the network of primary and secondary schools in liberated regions in 1944, with the objective of providing education to all school-age children.

In view of the fact that the German invaders annihilated all textbooks, to obligate the Belorussian SSR SNK and the Belorussian KP(b) Central Committee to immediately begin printing textbooks in Belorussian to supplement the textbooks being obtained from eastern oblasts.

9. Having in mind that party, soviet and economic organs are being created practically anew in regions liberated from the fascist invaders, to obligate the Belorussian SSR SNK and the Belorussian KP(b) Central Committee to improve selection of personnel for soviet and party organs in every possible way, recommending, for work in these organs, people who have been fully tested and who are capable of practically rehabilitating the economy devastated by the German invaders and correcting the consequences of the German occupation.

10. Considering that the population of liberated Belorussian regions resided for a long period of time under the German occupation together with its false fascist propaganda, and was deprived of truthful Soviet information, to obligate the Belorussian KP(b) Central Committee to provide daily leadership to party-political work in the masses, relying in all of this work on oblast and rayon party committees, and devoting special attention to management of newspapers, having in mind that newspapers are the most important centers of political work in the masses. Cases of bloody crimes by the German invaders against the Belorussian people must be utilized widely in propaganda and agitation work; these cases must be made known to the entire population with the objective of raising hatred for the fascist invaders in the masses and intensifying the alertness and political activity of the laborers.

11. To obligate the Belorussian KP(b) Central Committee to continue its effort to incite a whole people's partisan movement on territory occupied by the enemy, to activate the partisan struggle and disorganization of the enemy rear, to intensify assistance to the advancing Red Army, to rescue the public from extermination and slavery and to keep the German invaders from burning down population centers.

To encourage Belorussian underground party organizations to conduct political work among the public of occupied regions even more extensively, mobilizing it to participate actively in the fight against the German invaders.

Central Party Archives of the Institute  
of Marxism-Leninism, f. 17, op. 59, d. 435.

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## NATIONAL

### PECHENEV BOOK ON SOCIALIST IDEALS REVIEWED

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 8, Aug 84 (signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 135-138

[Review by N. Proshunin, candidate of historical sciences, of book "Sotsialisticheskiy ideal i real'nyy sotsializm" [The Socialist Ideal and Real Socialism] by V.A. Pechenev, Moscow, Politizdat, 1984, 367 pp.]

[Text] The recently published book by V.A. Pechenev, "Sotsialisticheskiy ideal i real'nyy sotsializm" [The Socialist Ideal and Real Socialism], (Moscow, Politizdat, 1984, 367 pp.) is devoted to the problem of the correlation between the ideal and reality and the correspondence of aims which society sets for itself and those it actually achieves. The book discusses the embodiment of social aims in public practice which reflect the aspirations and hopes, the labor and struggle of the millions who constitute the masses, as well as the clarity of our programmed goals, the level of our approach to them and our firm conviction of their complete practicability.

It goes without saying that these questions have a great political and national significance. On the other hand, "the socialist ideal and real socialism," the author notes, is a problem "that is found within each of us" (p. 366). Yes, it directly affects the motives of practical activity on the part of every person, his manner of thought and behavior, and his ideological and moral self-appraisal.

Anyone who does not flutter around life, who strives in a human manner for meaningful goals, inevitably ponders and asks himself whether he makes his own destiny in accordance with the convictions and ideals that he has worked out and what he must do in order to realize them. The Soviet people want to see the fruit of their labor, the results of their efforts and the embodiment of their dreams. There is no wholehearted, creative individual who does not have this attitude; man loses his sense of perspective without it, which means his striving for something better. The internal support of existence disappears and his conception of the meaning of life is eroded. An active, energetic social position is replaced by indifference, disappointment and passivity and by momentary, egotistical concerns.

Goals are closely connected with behavior. Actions are penetrated by the nature of the goal. "It does not matter whether the goal is close or distant," wrote N.G. Chernyshevskiy, "it is necessary not to lose sight of it,

because regardless of how distant it may be, occasions continually arise, at the present time as well, in which it is necessary to act in one way if you have this goal and in another if you do not."

It is understood that there are different types of ideals. Religion, for example, also gives man an ideal. Its foundation consists of fantastic dreams of a future heavenly kingdom and quests for protection, comfort and joy. Noting this, V.I. Lenin wrote: "Man needs an ideal, but a human one, in accordance with his nature, not a supernatural one."<sup>2</sup> To the mystical ideal that rests on reveries and which depicts an imagined, illusory goal, Marxist contrasts this with an ideal based on the facts of real life and the struggle for a better social system.

The goals expressed by our ideal emerge from the objective tendencies of social development and they are substantiated scientifically. This is their fundamental difference from the confused impulses of those sincere lovers of truth and perspicacious, sometimes brilliant, people who, casting a "golden dream" over mankind, dreamed of socialism without a struggle and hoped to establish peace and universal well-being on earth by means of abstract propagation of justice and good. But propagation of the highest ideals yielded little until people saw the real way to their achievement.

Bourgeois theoreticians and propagandists expend a great deal of effort in order, on the one hand, to "prove" the impracticability of the Marxist-Leninist ideal of social life and, on the other hand, to discredit real socialism, contrasting it with the wrongly interpreted socialist ideal. Taking into account the immense and continually growing popularity worldwide of the idea itself of socialism, they do not always reject Marxism-Leninism indiscriminately, but try to "reveal" the disparity between the theory and practice of scientific socialism and to disclose the "conflict" between the socialist ideal and reality, that "principled divergence" of reality with the type of new society envisioned by Marx, Engels and Lenin. In this way, open, frontal criticism of socialism is amplified with a criticism that has been turned inside out, that is with efforts to turn people away from socialism by comparing it with some sort of "ideal," which is essentially a distorted "model." In other words, real socialism criticizes itself not in comparison with imperialist systems, but with the heights of "utopianist" ideals, neither more nor less appearing awkwardly dressed in second-hand clothes, our opponents try to show themselves as the guardians of "true," "undistorted" socialism. One would think that the bourgeois ideologists and the revisionists who join them care more about the correct way of building a new society in accordance with Marxist-Leninist guidelines than those who are constructing a new world by means of their own labor.

The hypocrisy is obvious. Such criticism, of course, attests to the increasing impoverishment of the bourgeoisists' own ideological baggage and its

<sup>1</sup>Chernyshevsky, N.G. "Poln. sobr. soch." V. 15-17 t. [Complete Works in 15 vols.], vol. 9, p. 193.

<sup>2</sup>See "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], vol. 29, p. 16.

inability to promote some sort of just social ideal. But it would be a mistake, on this basis, to underestimate the danger of the methods and devices of subversive influence which they launch from outside onto the consciousness of the workers in the socialist countries, particularly onto the unstable, unformed consciousness of part of the young, rising generation.

The book, "Sotsialisticheskiy ideal i real'nyy sotsializm," contains a critique and refutation of these methods and devices of our ideological adversaries. It is polemically active and sharp. It gives scientific arguments and various kinds of documentary data which assist in identifying the weakness of the theoretical premises and false political approaches of the critics of real socialism. The analysis of various opportunistic trends which, at a certain time, clearly displayed their anti-Marxist essence in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland yields food for thought. This applies particularly to the exposure of the insidious methods of struggle by the representatives of a political tendency which has given itself the pretentious name "humane socialism," as opposed to the real humanism embodied in the practice of the development of the countries of the socialist community.

The author does not evade questions usually relegated to the category that is normally referred to as pointed and difficult; he does not remain silent about objections that could have been made to him, but replies to them convincingly. The demonstrative strength of such a method is also manifested in direct citations from the texts of our ideological adversaries, which gives the reader the possibility to "listen to the other side as well" and to make a convinced decision in favor of Marxist views from a comparison of opposing viewpoints.

The author, on the whole, takes into account that the assertions of our critics are, in many cases, made known to the reader only through replies to these critics and if the opponent's arguments are not cited, it is not possible to refute him. As a rule, therefore, those arguments of the adversaries which they themselves consider particularly weighty, as well as, naturally, their most "instructive" pronouncements, which have the force of self-exposure, even if not immediately apparent, are cited. The process of proof gains from this and is marked by the seal of respect for and trust in the reader's independent judgement. This strengthens, by contrast with the weakness of our adversaries' position, the cogency of our Marxist reasoning. Due to this, the whole material substance of the polemic appears colorful, varied and interesting. We are clearly convinced that passions really seethe around the problems discussed in the world and, without the author's prompting, we see what great scientific and political significance polemics on the theme, "the ideal in life," have.

Polemic is organically combined in the book with the positive treatment of a wide range of questions that have a direct relation to the theme, "the socialist ideal and real socialism." These include, for example, the correlation of the theory and practice of socialism, ethics and politics, real socialism and humanism, morality and revolutionary force (not reducing it, naturally, to only one of its forms - armed force), the dialectic of ends

and means in revolutionary struggle and creation, and the special character of the contemporary stage in the realization of the socialist ideal.

The realization of the socialist (communist) ideal, which appears as the expected and desired form of the future, is not ensured only by certain particular aims of communists, but by the whole aggregate of internal and international factors of development in one or another country and by present conditions. This results in the well-known divergence between the ideal - the theoretically foreseen picture of socialism in its completed or, as Lenin said, "finished" form and one or another concrete historical landmark in its coming into being, on which, of course, it places its imprint, not only of aims and ideals, but also the real means of its establishment. They are determined objectively by the correlation of forces which exist at a given time between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and by the course of the world class struggle of socialism and capitalism.

Unawareness of these circumstances may lead some people to the perception of the real conditions in socialist countries as something that conflicts with communist ideals and is an obstacle to their triumph. Well, conflicts between ideals and concrete historical realities are certainly a kind of "obstacle," notes the author, but without overcoming it, the future communist society will remain only a dream, a fabulous utopia. The problem of "ideal and reality" is presented and developed in the book precisely as a problem in the dialectic of social progress, as a real conflict and as one of the driving stimuli in the history of mankind.

The question of conflicts as a driving force in social progress has an essential significance for theory and practice, as the development of society, including, of course, the society of mature socialism, proceeds through the resolution of conflicts that are inherent within it.

It is possible to say that, today, the fallacious formula which asserted a lack of conflicts and contradictions in the development of socialist countries, the socialist system and the new social order has been eliminated. The author considers, however, that the tendency which is, to a large extent, perhaps, an unconscious, non-rational and emotional one, and which involves inserting a negative meaning into the term "conflict" has still not been overcome. It also involves not seeing in conflicts a source and stimulus of all sorts of social development, as Marxist dialectic requires, but only shortcomings, defects and manifestations of a certain weakening.

Although this one-sided, incorrect approach has been debunked - and not only once - at the highest political level, manifestations of it are still met with in propaganda and in individual works of social science. Unfortunately, this occurs not too infrequently. In the meantime, without overcoming this deeply mistaken conception, it is impossible to have propaganda and the whole ideological work of the party respond in full measure to the requirements promoted by the June (1983) plenum of the CPSU CC: realism, truth and efficiency. This means, in particular, that there should not be either a dramatization of elements of non-coincidence between the ideal and life or an idealization of the existing social condition. It is necessary



to evaluate soberly both our successes and our unrealized possibilities, to learn lessons from our admitted errors, to note difficulties and problems in time and to work out reliable methods for their resolution.

Ideals would not be called ideals if they did not give us an incentive toward them, if they did not impel us, at every new phase in the development of society, to set new, more difficult and absorbing tasks. The vitality of Marxist-Leninist ideals consists also of the fact that they appear as an active force which organizes the masses and lifts them into activity; they persist with faith and energy and unite around the solution of historically ripe problems. By fulfilling the connecting function between the present and the future and representing a kind of "forestalling" reflection of reality, they stimulate thought and practical activity. That is why they are capable of being a powerful inspiring factor for not one, but a whole series of generations of builders of a new world.

Socialist society is susceptible to continual changes and transformations; consequently, the criteria of correspondence of reality to the socialist ideal are in continuous development as well and our demands on life grow.

Experience and social practice attest to the possibility - and in certain circumstances, the necessity - of certain corrections in the theoretical directions of socialism and in the ways and means of its development into communism. The conception of a developed socialist society worked out by the CPSU and the fraternal parties of the countries of the socialist community can serve as an example of this.

The book reveals the meaning and significance of the conception of developed socialism as an historically protracted stage, at the beginning of which our country is found. This conception permits a clearer view of the picture of our society's development in all its complexity, contradictoriness and many-sidedness, and it equips the Soviet people with a realistic idea of what we have achieved and what we have still not completed.

A precise definition of the historical stage experienced by the country and the phase of socio-economic maturity it has attained permits, on the one hand, strict scientific planning of the immediate tasks of the party and the people and, on the other hand, their more precise correlation with the more distant aims of communist creation and the closer connection of our ideals with our daily practical affairs.

The transition to a higher phase of communist formation is implemented in proportion to the development and perfection of mature socialism and in proportion to the knowledge and full utilization of all its possibilities. In this lies the essence of the strategy of progress to communism. It has nothing in common either with sluggishness of action or with skipping historically necessary stages of development. It unites in itself an optimistic view of the future, a tendency to lofty ideals combined with efficiency, deep realism and a sober evaluation of that historical distance which separates us from the higher phase of communism. The party proceeds

from the fact that on the way to the communist ideal, we must still fully embody the socialist ideal in reality. This task is expressed today by the pithy, scientifically regulated slogan, the perfection of mature socialism.

As Comrade K.U. Chernenko emphasized at the all-army conference of secretaries of komsomol organizations, "The services of the present generation of Soviet people and, of course, the komsomol members to their native country and to history will be measured above all by how successfully we cope with the tasks of perfecting the socialism built among us. In other words, to what extent we advance to the point of bringing it into full accord with the socialist ideal and eliminating from our life everything that contradicts the idea of social justice - the central idea of our world outlook." The duty of the propagandists and of all workers on the ideological front is to coordinate more closely the practical experience of life with the ultimate aims of the Communist party and to impel every Soviet person to the conscious, active inclusion of himself in the ranks of selfless fighters for the building of the most just, most humane society that the world has ever known. It seems to me that along with other publications, V.A. Pechenev's book will help them in this task.

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## REGIONAL

### SHCHERBITSKIY ESSAY ON UKRAINIAN POSTWAR DEVELOPMENT

Moscow NOVYY MIR in Russian No 9, Sep 84 pp 3-13

[Article by V. V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine: "Ascent"]

[Text] With Soviet people it has become the rule: In observing historic dates, to analyze and generalize what was done, to extract lessons, to draw conclusions. . . . In this connection, I would like to dwell on some aspects of our spiritual existence and its place and role in contemporary conditions, to which, as is well known, Marxists-Leninists ascribe great significance. You see, it is precisely the communists for whom it is characteristic to have a scientifically correct understanding of the dialectical interrelationship of material and spiritual progress and the constantly increasing significance of popular education, science and culture in the improvement of developed socialist society. We proceed from the fact that spiritual culture must be linked in the closest manner with the life of the people and with the requirements of social development.

. . . The workers of the Ukraine and the entire Soviet people are preparing to extend a worthy welcome to an important date--the 40th Anniversary of the Liberation of the Republic from the Fascist Invaders. Among the documents and printed editions of that distant year 1944, which have already become the property of history, the September issue of NOVYY MIR attracted attention. It opened with the distinct lines of Aleksey Surkov, dedicated to the liberation of the Ukraine and the departure of the Soviet Army for the Carpathians. To the sacred border of the Fatherland, our soldiers carried the red banner through incessant battles, "through rain and ice," "along dismal ruins". The yellowed pages of the journal once more recalled the countless manifestations of heroism and great brotherhood of the Soviet peoples in the battle for the liberation and revival of our republic.

The liberation battles in the Ukraine lasted more than 660 days and nights. And already the first one of them--for the rayon center Melovoye in the Voroshilovgrad area--revealed the indomitable will of the soldiers of various nationalities to liberate the Ukrainian land as soon as possible, their mass heroism. Here the immortal deed of Nikolay Gastello was repeated by the crew of a dive-bomber composed of the Belorussian I. Utyuskin, the Russian S. Ryabikov, and the Ukrainian M. Kozachenko. In the granite of the memorial in

Melovoye, at the fraternal grave, 1,500 names are engraved forever, and among them are Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Czechs, Azeris, Kirghis, Tatars . . . In the battles for the Dnieper and Kharkov, the Dnepr and Kiev, around Kuznetsovskaya and in the Crimean Peninsula, in the Pskov Hills and in the Carpathians, hundreds of thousands of heroes from all republics of the Land of Soviets immortalized their names.

Together with the liberators, life returned to the destroyed cities and villages of the Ukraine. In a report for the Soviet Information Bureau, the writer Boris Gurevich reported from the Dnepropetrovsk area: "The rates of the restoration of life in the liberated cities is now much higher than during the first months of the attack--this we have learned. The builders' attack on ruins in military fashion is measured in hours. Every hour brings victory. We already have telephone. Soon there will be radio in the streets. Soon there will be water, light, and baked bread. All of these are fortresses, and they are being taken by storm. The people who are pining for work are working avidly."

When you turn to this heroic time, you invariably think: What a powerful force--the Soviet people--soldier and creator, what a great achievement--the breakthrough of the people of our great Soviet Homeland!

During the first days of the liberation, we had to begin with nothing. The fascist vandals destroyed and plundered everything possible: material values and monuments of spiritual culture, our sacred things. Here is one of the pictures of those days, coming up before the liberators: The plundered and defiled Poltava Museum of Regional Studies. The Hitlerites removed from it removed historical relics, pictures and treasures, and before their departure they set fire to the museum building itself. It was still burning when our troops entered the city. There were eight dead bodies lying on the sidewalk in front of the museum: six men, a young woman, and a 10-year old girl. Poltava residents told us glowingly of the event, the writer Boris Yeliseyev, that these people tried to extinguish the fire and the infuriated fascists threw them into the fire alive. . . . It is impossible to forget such things! and the Soviet people remember this, doing everything necessary to strengthen the socialist and defense might of our Homeland, to preserve peace on earth.

In thinking about the greatest--social, moral and cultural achievements of the Soviet Union, in assessing their dimensions and tempo, we, naturally, cannot ourselves not only to the magnitude of the war-torn year 1944, but also try to put them vividly into history.

In his report at the 19th (1953) Session of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade N. S. Khrushchev emphasized: "The Great October destroyed the social and spiritual forces for submission stifled the creative forces of the working people. The revolution placed the working class in the center of the contemporary world and set free the gigantic creative energy of the working people."

It is to these sources of social progress and the formation of the new man of the socialist world that the grateful memory of the people turns. And now, as the year gloriously writes, "The October of gun storms" decides "the fate of



Kievs and Tiflises". We are proud of the fact that the workers of the Ukraine were the first to accept the extended brotherly hand of the Russian workers, together with whom they went through all the revolutionary battles. The cause of Lenin and his party, the Great October, and socialist internationalism--such is this alternative. The entire path of the Soviet Ukraine, its achievements, and the will and expectations of the people are illuminated with its light.

Already during the first two decades, thanks to this choice, new cities were built through the creative work of millions, famous giants of industry, collective farms in the country, schools and clubs, and scope for the future was opened up. Already at that time, the ascent of the Ukraine, as well as other fraternal republics, to the heights of economic and social progress showed that their fate rests in the reliable hands of the Leninist party, the fraternal peoples, which are united by creative labor, mutual assistance, and a common in the name of a great goal.

The great goal gave birth to unprecedented energy of the masses. Socialist construction raised the people. Throughout the entire country, new patriotic initiatives and mass movements arose and found wide dissemination. The idea of the counterplanarose in Moscow and Leningrad in the course of the discussion of the tasks of the 1st Five-Year-Plan. In the Ukraine, reflecting the patriotic upsurge throughout the country, the astonishing labor initiatives of Nikita Khrushchev, Aleksey Stakhanov, Mariya Demchenko, Praskovya Angelina, Makar Mazay, and Petr Krivonos appeared. . . . The Dnepr Hydroelectric Power Plant named V. I. Lenin and the Zaporozh'ye Metallurgical Plant, the Novokramatorsk Machinery Plant and the Kharkov Tractor Plant giants, the Gorlovka Nitrogen Fertilizer Combine and the Azov Metallurgical Plant--all of these are outstanding creations of the liberated, selfless labor of the Soviet people.

In the free and new family, the Soviet Ukraine, already during the growth years, attained heights in its development that were unprecedented by the world measures of the time. Socialist culture and science reached a high level. Pavlo Tyshina had every reason to celebrate the national "feeling of a single family" as the greatest and non-transient force of the socialist Commonwealth of fraternal republics.

Decades have passed--stormy and dynamic ones. And here today, in spite of all the difficulties, deprivations and devastation of the war years, the Soviet Ukraine has changed beyond recognition not only by comparison with the prerevolutionary period, but also by comparison with the year 1940. The annual volume of production, for example, increased by a factor of 16 for this period, and our republic now provides four times as much industrial production as the entire country in the prerevolutionary period.

During the past year, 86 large industrial enterprises were put into operation in the Ukraine, including the unique mill "300" at the Zhdanov Metallurgical Combine named Il'yich, the new powerful power-generating unit at the Chernobyl'skaya Nuclear Power Station, and the very large installation for the processing of oil in Lysichansk. Approximately 18 million square meters of housing have been built, and this means that more than a million and a half individuals improved their housing conditions.

In the agriculture of the republic, in spite of the unfavorable weather conditions, an increase in production was secured (compared with the first two years of the five-year-plan), there was an increase in the procurement of meat, milk and other animal products, and the highest level of labor productivity was attained. As is well-known, the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government approved proposals concerning measures for the further increase of the stability of the production of grain and other agricultural crops and, at a while, for the securing of the dynamic development of the agricultural sector of the economy of the republic. These measures, the creative labor of the farmers, and the unbreakable union of Sickle and Hammer give every reason to talk about the fact that the toilers of the Ukraine will make a worthy contribution to the realization of the Food Program of the country.

Our confidence in further progressive economic and social development is based not only on what has been achieved, but also on many processes taking place in the national economy of the republic and the country as a whole. In the USSR the highest rates of industrial development during the last 5 years have been secured. And what is especially important: The entire growth of national income during 1981-1983 was obtained by virtue of the increase of labor productivity. Positive trends were secured in the first six months of the present year.

In response to the appeal of the December (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the collectives of the republic, together with the workers of Moscow and Leningrad, became the initiators of the struggle for the overfulfillment of the plan for the growth of labor productivity in industry by 1 percent and for the above-plan reduction of production cost of industrial production by 0.5 percent, as well as of a number of other initiatives.

In our striving to make the pursuit of greater efficiency in management, every conceivable strengthening of order and discipline, and the introduction of new technology and progressive manufacturing methods, as well as advanced forms and methods of labor organization the common business of all: From minister to worker, from party committees to every communist.

... When you are in cities and villages, in labor collectives, you experience some excitement and gladness seeing the continuous transformation of the native land. But most of all one is gladdened by the moral appearance of our people--real creators of the present and the future. Thus, after many years of socialist and joint party and state work, it would seem, we have already had occasion to know well Aleksandr Vasil'yevich Gitalov, Grigoriy Yakovlevich Gorban', and Ivan Leonidovich Zhel'tomirskiy, twice Heroes of Socialist Labor. ... But when you meet with them, you discover something new in them every time. Before you are people of heavy duty, tireless creative thought, and active civic position. They are incessantly searching for new possibilities to do their work better and to serve the people in a Bolshevik manner. In this they were inspired by those who were the first to go through the first five-year-plan. Today they themselves serve as an example. From them "life takes" the rising generation.

Only three among the most honored sons of the working people have been named. Their life is not an exception, but rather the rule in the purposeful and innovative working guard of the republic. Really, our people is rich in talents. And dedicated to the cause of creation, it reveals these talents more and more, in the sphere of material production.

Here is still another, no less characteristic example. Last year, on the eve of the anniversary of the Great October, a report on the fulfillment of the five-year-plan task was given by the collective of the brigade of linemen of the Southern Trust for the Construction of Power Networks, headed by the honored builder of the USSR Grigoriy Kondrat'yevich Polusma, bearer of the Order of Lenin, the Order of the October Revolution, and the Order of the Red Banner of Labor. This brigade is rightfully recognized as one of the best in the Union. The average output per lineman here exceeded the standards more than twofold. The innovative and creative solutions of the brigade leader and his comrades made it possible to complete the unique "passage" of high-voltage lines through the Kakhovskoye Sea and the Carpathians to the border with Rumania in record time. The brigade was charged with the construction of electric power transmission lines in the Crimea and in the south of the Ukraine, in Kalmykiya [Kalmyk ASSR] and in the central areas of Russia. Everywhere it coped with the tasks in a praiseworthy manner.

Today many are working in such a manner. The participation of workers, collective farmers, and specialists of the national economy in the movement of innovators and efficiency experts and in technical creativity has become masslike indeed. During the past year alone, the introduction of inventions and innovation proposals of the workers of the republic produced an economic effect of a billion and a half rubles. In our country, the unity of human creativity and enterprises has become the essence of the Soviet character and a real quality of the socialist way of life. The people complete this difficult and creative work in the name of a goal to which they are dedicated wholeheartedly.

Popular wisdom says: Well-off is the blacksmith who forges with both hands. In our time, production and science are just powerful wings of the productive forces of society.

During the years of Soviet power, the Ukraine has not only become a land of all-round multi-economic flourishing, but also a genuine laboratory, a fair-riery of scientific cadres, whose successes are recognized in the world. A large detachment is working in the republic--more than 201,000 specialists, including more than 5,000 with the doctorate and 44,000 candidates of sciences.

The science of the Ukraine objectively serves the cause of the economic and social development of Soviet society. This is science which creatively involves all processes and spheres of social existence, all of our consciousness and plans. To take, for example, the three-decked Institute of Welding named Ye. G. Paton of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which has just celebrated its 50th anniversary. How great the significance of its work in various sectors of the economy! During the years of the USSR and the five-year-plans, fundamentally new technologies were created here: the development of a special type of pipe, butt-joint welding, electroslag casting, the application of protective coatings, and others. Together with specialized scientists, the institute was the first in the world to lay the foundation for the welding technology in space.

The Institute named Ye. O. Paton, being the leading scientific institution for welding in the country, actively contributes to scientific-technical progress and the development of the economy of all union republics, the unification of the efforts of scientists, and the further strengthening of inter-republic relations. The USSR National Committee for Welding and a United Nations seminar for additional training of engineers and welders from developing states are operating under the Institute. Specialists from 92 countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe have already been in training here. The scientific-research collective thus directly participates in the strengthening of international cooperation as well.

Great is the role of scientific institutions in the realization of special-purpose integrated scientific-technical programs, which are of great significance for the national economy, in the creation of modern manufacturing methods and new technology, and in the further improvement of the structure and methods of the management of the economy. The output of scientific research is also considerable. During the past year alone, the economic effect from the introduction of developments by scientists of the republic in the national economy exceeded 3 billion rubles. Characteristic is the growth of the tempo and resulting effect of the utilization of these developments: Approximately the same economic effect in the 10th Five-Year-Plan was attained after 1.5 years, in the 9th--after 3½ years.

The scales of the socialist transformation of society and the individual are especially clearly confirmed by the development of science in the Ukraine, as well as in other fraternal republics. You see, the Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine, the majority of scientific institutions, and practically all leading institutions were created in the republic after the establishment of Soviet power. During the current year alone, the Academy institutes of astronomy, mathematics, and physiology named A. I. Bogomolets, like the Institute for Electric Welding named Ye. O. Paton, observed their 50th anniversary. Many others are still younger.

I remember, more than two decades ago there was a famous, but fleeting controversy about the place of science and art in the life of society in the age of the scientific-technical revolution, the so-called controversy about the positivists and lyric poets. Our famous poet and scientist-philologist M. P. Sytyukh, too, expressed his opinion at the time in connection with this. Having expressed his unwillingness to accept the subject of the controversy, he noted clearly and persuasively that "in the age of the space rocket not to hear the singing of the nightingale" would be equivalent to the depersonalization and spiritual fall of the individual. Time has confirmed the rightness of the poet, who emphasized the non-trivial spiritual value of humanistic culture in the development of the individual and in the life of socialist society.

You see, in its precisely socialist sense transformed the sphere of spiritual culture from the privilege of the elite into a national achievement, a broad field of the manifestation of the abilities of the working masses. It is this very thing which has immeasurably increased the possibilities of education, the role of science and culture in the life of society--both as the carrier of education of a rationally developed individual and in the direct influence on material production.



In this connection, I remember one of the colorful contents of the winners of the first All-Union Festival of Amateur Artistic Creation. At it, an intelligent young man, who read poems well and movingly, attracted attention. That was Mikhail Ivanovich Biryukov--a miner of the famous Donetsk Trudovskaya Mine, in which he has been working since 1960 side by side with I. I. Strel'chenko. In the miners' collective, Mikhail Ivanovich proved himself to be a leading worker, a shock worker of communist labor, and a teacher of young miners. He is a member of the party bureau and a party group organizer in his brigade, decorated with the Red Banner of Labor. Not long ago I found out that communist Biryukov nevertheless also actively participates in amateur talent activities. In 1982 he was awarded honorary title of honored worker of culture of the UkSSR. Very likely, in some way this is a typical image of the modern advanced worker.

The union of labor and art has solid traditions in our republic. From their very first steps, the socialist culture and art of the Ukraine are invariably concerned with the life of the people, with vital social problems.

We remember very well how in the difficult postwar years, years of devastation and unprecedented strain of the labor efforts of our people, thirsting to heal the wounds of the war more quickly, Ukrainian Soviet literature, through the words of its outstanding masters, inspired confidence and hope, faith and courage in the hearts of people.

The task established by V. I. Lenin of bringing art closer to the people and the people closer to art is now being successfully solved. A close link with the people, with the labor collectives, has become a characteristic trait of the everyday life of our writers, journalists, artists, composers, theater and movie figures. This union of labor and art has also come to reflect organizational forms dictated by the time: Contract relations of creative and productive collectives, cultural-patronage work, creative work accounts by cultural figures to the workers, the inclusion of representatives of the working class in the composition of artists' councils, the discussion of new works in the plant auditorium, and creative work trips by the masters of literature and art to enterprises, construction sites, kolkhozes and sovkhoses.

The Leninist party-class approach to the spiritual treasure-house of the people made it possible to preserve everything valuable and progressive that was created in the course of centuries and to save the pure and living spring of the people's creativity. On the other hand, this made it possible to correctly determine the correlation of the national and international, to weed out in the spiritual soil the weeds of nationalism and chauvinism, as well as to avoid the other extreme--the manifestation of national nihilism. The serious and many-sided artistic needs of the people and its profound understanding of the phenomena of culture have always exerted and exert a stimulating influence on the creative process.

The decisions of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the decrees adopted by the Central Committee concerning the strengthening of the

creative links of literature and art journals with practical communist construction and on questions of the development of Soviet cinema provided a new impulse for the expansion of the links of the artistic intelligentsia with the toilers of city and village, the studying youth, and the soldiers of the army and navy. As comrade K. U. Chernenko correctly noted, the scale of the dissemination of cultural values among us is indeed enormous. In the conditions of the developed socialist society, any original event of the literary, artistic life of one people becomes the achievement of the multinational culture of the entire Soviet Union.

We do not have to talk about the achievements of Ukrainian Soviet culture--they are well known. The title of Hero of Socialist Labor for the composer Andrey Shtogarenko, the award of Lenin Prizes to the poet Mikola Bazhan, and the group of creators of the memorial "Ukrainian State Museum of the History of the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945" in Kiev--Viktor Yelizarov, Vasiliy Boroday, and Fridrikh Sogoyan have become an illustration of the national recognition and the high state assessment of the creativity of the cultural workers of the Ukraine during the past few years. The creative achievements of the singer Yevgeniya Miroshnichenko, the prose writers Oles' Gonchar and Pavel Zagrebel'nyy, the poet Ivan Drach, the playwright Oleksa Kolomiys, and a number of masters of the theater and cinematographic art have been noted with USSR State Prizes of recent years.

In its development, the culture of the Soviet Ukraine, which is national in form, socialist in content, and international in spirit, bases itself firmly both on national art, the creative legacy of the Ukrainian classics, and on the spiritual wealth of all nations and nationalities of the USSR and the achievements of world culture. In all spheres of our life--the economy, education, science and culture--processes of approximation and mutual enrichment, the intensification of cooperation and mutual assistance, and multifaceted integration are taking place under the conditions of mature socialism. This accelerates the rates of development and increases our strength.

The works of the great Russian culture and the literature and art of the other union republics enjoy great popularity among the Ukrainian people. For example, books from 57 languages of the peoples of our country are translated into the Ukrainian language. During the years of Soviet power, 9,000 works of Russian literature were published in our republic and more than 2,000 books by writers of the other fraternal republics of the country. In their turn, the works of Ukrainian authors, during the postwar period alone, were published in 44 languages of the peoples in our country. Many of them were published in the capital of our Homeland, in publishing houses of the RSFSR and other union republics. Indeed, Ukrainian writers have an all-union reading audience.

Increasingly more often we become witnesses to the fact that new cultural values are created through the joint creative efforts of artists of the Ukraine and the other fraternal republics, chiefly in the fine arts, cinema and the theater. This allows us to note with gratitude the increase of the role of the Russian language as the means of international intercourse and the development of a single Soviet culture. In the Ukraine an absolute majority of the population is fluent in the Russian language, thereby obtaining

broad access to the cultural values and latest phenomena of both Soviet and foreign art.

Now the spiritual life of the Ukrainian is unthinkable without knowledge of the multinational classics of our native land, without the books of M. Sholokhov, Ch. Aytmatov, V. Bykov, E. Mezheleytis, and R. Gamzatov, without the artistic legacy of M. Sariyan, without the innovative theater of Georgia. . . In their turn, we constantly are convinced that the peoples of the whole country regard our sacred cultural things and our national achievements with as deep an interest and respect as we ourselves.

During the current year, the Shevchenko Festival of Literature and Art "In the Free and New Family" was held for the fourth time. It originated as a republic measure. But in actual fact from the very beginning its scale and meaning came to be determined by the word "all-union". The festival attracted the attention of foreign friends of Soviet literature and the admirers of the talent of the great son of the Ukrainian people--the brilliant Kobzar'. In the jubilee measures of the current year, dedicated to the 170th Anniversary of the Birth of T. G. Shevchenko, guests from all corners of the Soviet Union, representatives of all European countries of the socialist commonwealth, as well as progressive Ukrainians of Canada took part. In Kiev, Kanev, Cherkassy, L'vov, Chernigov and other cities of the republic, the guests demonstrated their deepest respect for the life and creative feat of the poet-democrat and revolutionary, for Ukrainian literature and art continuing the Shevchenko traditions of serving the people.

It must be said that the year 1984, even by comparison with the preceding years, which were also saturated with numerous and striking manifestations of the brotherhood of cultures, has become especially rich, thrilling, and beneficial for us. Together with all the peoples of the country, we widely observed the 175th Anniversary of the Birth of N. V. Gogol. In his homeland--in the village Gogolevo of Poltava Oblast--a memorial national park, a museum to the great writer, was opened.

The current year is the year of the anniversary of Yuriy Fed'kovich, Mikhail Kotsyubinsk, Sholom-Aleykhov, Nikolay Ostrovskiy, Aleksandr Dovzhenko, Mikola Bazhan. . . The year of the 17th All-Union Cinema Festival in Kiev, the traditional "Kiev Spring" and "Golden Fall" All-Union Festivals of Art, and others. . . We are sincerely glad that the Days of Soviet Literature, dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the republic from the German-Fascist invaders and to the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR Union of Writers will take place in the Ukraine.

Of course, it is gratifying that at the festival competitions and reviews a number of honorary prizes were won by representatives of the creative intelligentsia of the Ukraine. But the main thing is that all of the work is aimed at the mutual enrichment of our cultures, at their further ideological and artistic growth, and in the end--at the strengthening of the friendship and unity of the peoples of our country.

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic has found strong international authority as a republic with a flourishing economy, a rich cultural past, and an

intensive modern scientific and cultural life. The Ukraine is one of the founding members of the United Nations and at present also a member of the Security Council. Being a member of other international organizations, including UNESCO, it actively conducts cultural exchange with foreign countries. This exchange is a constituent part of the international cultural cooperation of the Soviet Union. The republic maintains cultural relations with almost 50 countries in the world. The following figures are of interest: During the period 1979 to 1983, more than 4,500 masters of Ukrainian culture and art and a number of collectives of amateur artists of the Ukraine performed successfully abroad. During the last 5 years in the countries of the socialist commonwealth alone, more than 1,400 works of Ukrainian writers appeared. The first seminar of foreign translators of contemporary Ukrainian literature, held in Kiev in May, confirmed the further growth of interest in the world in the culture of our people.

In our turn, as this is characteristic for the entire Soviet Land, we long ago established in our republic, so to say, the conditions for the greatest encouragement for the dissemination of genuine values of foreign culture. Here, perhaps, two sufficiently expressive examples. The total edition of books by Jack London, published in our republic, is larger than in the homeland of the writer. The world's most complete collection of the works of Ernest Hemingway also was not published in America, but in the Ukraine--by the publishing house "Dnipro".

The communists and the workers of the Soviet Ukraine distinctly realize that quite a few great and important matters lie ahead. At the Plenums of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the republic and in the practical activity of its party committees and state organs the tasks in regard to the acceleration of socio-economic development, the eradication of existing shortcomings, and the realization of unutilized reserves are set in a business-like manner and pointedly.

Among the problems of an economic character, to which paramount attention is being given, are the rational utilization of the enormous production potential created in the national economy, the increase in the contribution of the republic to the development of a single national economic complex of the country, the strengthening of genuine state discipline in all links of production and management, the struggle against losses of working time, and the reinforcement of the regime of economy. Greatest significance is being ascribed to the development of the fuel-energy complex and the fulfillment of the Power

Engineering Program. A large bundle of difficult tasks will have to be un- done in the sphere of agriculture. As has already been said, this is the further increase in the stability of the sector and its efficiency through the general introduction of a scientifically-based soil protection system of agriculture, the increase in the output of improved lands, the further technical reequipment of kolkhozes and sovkhoses, the acceleration of socio- cultural reconstruction, and whole series of other measures.

The chief pivotal task (whatever current and long-term economic problems we would solve) is the acceleration of scientific-technical progress. For this reason, attention in the sphere of science is concentrated on the intensification of scientific research and developments, their scaled utilization in the



national economy, the further intensification of the program-specific approach in the realization of the basic questions of economic development of the republic, including also the rational utilization of nature and the protection of the environment.

In the social sphere, all efforts and means are being mobilized for the solution of such problems as the improvement of the housing conditions of the workers, health protection and everyday services, the supply of the population with food products, the improvement of the system of maternity protection and as a whole--the increase of the welfare of the people. The realization of the program of the reconstruction of the general education and professional school, developed by the party, requires special efforts--systematic and effective--of us. The results of this, undoubtedly, must have a positive effect on all spheres of the life of society.

In the sphere of ideological-educational work, our main concern is the training of the young generation, of worthy builders of communism, of the heirs and successors to the heroic traditions of the party and the people. We have good young people. At the same time, it must be taken into account that they did not go through the experience and difficulties that fell upon the old generations, they imagine only indirectly what the bourgeois way of life is like. Meanwhile bourgeois propaganda tries to orient our youth towards a whole series of stereotypes of "mass culture" and narrow-minded consumer psychology. All of this requires of us an increase in the ideological and labor tempering of our young people, the purposeful formation of its higher moral ideals and healthy aesthetic tastes, and the education in it of political vigilance and the readiness at any moment to come to the defense of the achievements of socialism. The situation is such that to act otherwise is impossible.

In this work, the role of the masters of literature and art is especially great. And we endeavor to enlist them on an increasingly broad scale in the management of the appropriate areas of the spiritual sphere, in so doing treating their work with respect--work which is not easy, but is so much needed by the people.

Also evident is the necessity of the further improvement of all organizational and creative work which is aimed at the strengthening of the social activeness of the masters of culture, the education of a reliable creative generation and, in the end, the general substantial increase in the ideological and artistic level of the works being created. Of course, there are unresolved questions, in particular in the development of the material-technical base of culture and cultural education work, especially in the village. We understand problems of this kind and are systematically working to deal with them.

All the work of economic and cultural construction in the republic is headed by the political vanguard of the people of the Ukraine, the militant and experienced detachment of the CPSU--a more than 3-million strong republic party organization. The communists work in all the most difficult and responsible sectors of public production and the nonproduction sphere. Three-fourths of the composition of the Communist Party of the Ukraine are made up of party organizations directly in the sectors of material production. Fifteen percent of the total number of communists are employed in science, education,

public health, culture and the arts. It is natural that in all of the most important directions of artistic development the party nucleus and the party aktiv play an especially important organizing and creatively mobilizing role. Party organizations in the sphere of culture are constantly being strengthened and their work is being perfected. Thus, in the Union of Writers of the Ukraine now almost two-thirds, in the Union of Cinematographers--more than 40 percent, in the Union of Composers--one-third, and in the Union of Artists--about one-fourth of the entire composition are communists, who are above all conductors of party policy.

It goes without saying, in any enterprise success is a complex and multifaceted concept, in literature and art--even more so. Here, more often than in other spheres of human activity, it is the result of internal creative tension and of observations and search over many years, which at times may seem to be too slow a "seeking to find" life and even a creative pause.

Among the artistic intelligentsia, one at times has to hear sharp assessments: Stagnation, there is no novel, there is no poem, there is no journalism. . . . To some extent, such declarations reflect concrete current difficulties of the creative process. It appears, however, that on the whole they are nevertheless a reflection not of the actual, real state of affairs, but sooner--the fixation of the state of the troubled soul of the artist, his psychologically peculiar conceptions of possibilities of influencing somebody, of stinging somebody to the quick, of shaking up. . . .

Of course, one also encounters, to put it mildly, some manifestations of blunted ideological-aesthetic strictness and insufficiently sharp party assessment. At times the image of our contemporary is impoverished, noticeably the enthusiasm for the artistic portrayal of everyday life [bytovizm], at times the past is idealized and the historical perspective is lost. Unfortunately, the complimentary approach, dictated by various considerations, still persists--an approach which is far from the actual ideological and aesthetic value of the work.

It goes without saying that an uncompromising struggle must be conducted with such, even isolated, phenomena. The successes achieved on the cultural front must not prevent us from seeing the shortcomings. It is important to take all of this into account when the assessment of concrete works of contemporary literature and art is at issue. But today we are not talking about isolated facts. We are talking about determining phenomena and trends, which dialectically accumulate in themselves a plural aggregate of phenomena and individual results in all their heterogeneity.

In implementing party guidance in such a complex and delicate sphere as artistic creation, we endeavor in every way possible to help its workers, to impart to them a taste for a deep desire to understand the processes happening in society. In so doing, we proceed from the fact that the main thing now is the increase in the role and effectiveness of culture in the improvement of developed socialism. This is why our party has always put and puts before the cultural workers the task of the highly artistic representation of everything new and progressive, in particular, the creation of a brilliant positive hero of the present. Needless to say, in order to do this some artists have to

overcome a voluntary or involuntary inclination to deheroize, a certain fear of this difficult creative problem. And above all to turn his gaze to the sphere of social labor, i. e., there where the individual himself, his essence, abilities and needs, are being most fully realized. You see, only when work labor becomes creative, when the talents of the individual are completely revealed, it gives man the greatest satisfaction and is most efficient for society.

Such--in exceedingly fragmentary form--are some of the tasks of cultural construction that, in our view, have become urgent. To respect the labor of the scientist, the writer and the artist, to assess his personality and work highly--these are invariable requirements of party guidance in the sphere of cultural construction. This is why here in our country, as we see it, a favorable and propitious atmosphere has developed. To a no smaller extent, this is explained also by the fact that party organizations, because of their respect for, and confidence in, cultural workers, do not ignore their weaknesses and mistakes, do not flatter them, but conduct a business-like and open dialogue, and keep a line based on principles.

Let us sum up what has been said. There are quite a few problems in various sectors, we are faced with serious work. But we also have the forces for accomplishing it, we have clear goals and rich experience. In our republic, as well as throughout the country, we have a good, business-like and creative environment, which is conducive to the solution of the tasks set forth by the CPSU Central Committee and brought forward by life.

The workers of the Ukraine, as well as all Soviet people, have unlimited confidence in the party and unanimously support its domestic and foreign policy.

Prompted by patriotic and civic duty, they are exerting every effort to successfully realize their plans and socialist obligations. It is no coincidence that all of the most important events in the life of the country, the revolutionary dates and holidays, are observed in our country through remarkable labor undertakings.

The appeal for a worthy welcome of the forthcoming 27th CPSU Congress, issued at the April (1984) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, has been perceived by the communists and workers of the Ukraine as a militant program of actions. Increasing momentum is also being gathered by the movement begun at the initiative of the Donbas miners: The labor collectives of the republic have accepted increased socialist obligations in honor of the 50th anniversary of the Stakhanov movement. Socialist competition in honor of the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War is also expanding.

Our people is convinced that the best monument to those who heroically fought for the Fatherland and its happy future, who honestly fulfilled their sacred patriotic and international duty, will be new labor accomplishments, which make our life more beautiful and increase the wealth and power of our socialist fatherland.

All of this creates the conviction that the further ascent of the Ukrainian people, together with the other nations and nationalities of our country, to new successes will be consistent and steadfast. The best things in our country lie still ahead. And our republic is in tireless movement.

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### KUNAYEV ADDRESSES KAZAKH PARTY AKTIV

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[Abbreviated account of the report delivered by Comrade D.A. Kunayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, at the 10 October republic party aktiv meeting: "The Republic Party Organization's Tasks Stemming from the CPSU Central Committee Resolution 'On Further Improving Party Leadership of the Komsomol and Enhancing Its Role in the Communist Education of Young People,' and Comrade K.U. Chernenko's Instructions on Questions of Work With Young People"]

[Text] Comrades! The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Further Improving Party Leadership of the Komsomol and Enhancing its Role in the Communist Education of Young People" is a document of great political significance. It provides a concrete answer to the question about the place and nature of the Komsomol's work at the stage of developed socialism.

Laying the foundations of the Communist Youth Movement and addressing himself to the mutual relations between youth organizations and the Bolshevik party, V.I. Lenin wrote: "We are the party of the future and the future belongs to young people. We are the party of innovators and young people are always most willing to follow innovators.... We will always be the party of the young people of the leading class."

The entire course of our development confirms the correctness of those prophetic words. The communist education of the young people always was, is, and will be a most important concern of the party and the people.

The Kazakh Communist Party and the republic komsomol organization have received the CPSU Central Committee resolution and Comrade K.U. Chernenko's conclusions and instructions as a concrete, militant guide to action. Plenums, and meetings of the aktiv, party committees, and of primary party organizations have been held at the local level. Steps aimed at the successful implementation of the party's demands have been defined everywhere.

The most crucial stage, that of practical action, is now beginning. Everything that has been planned must be implemented, it must be consistently and promptly translated into practical tangible deeds.

And here there is much work for every party activist and for all members of the party and the Leninist Komsomol. It is our common duty to set to work jointly, to act harmoniously, and to complete our work in a worthy fashion, achieving high end results.

"We are convinced," Comrade K.U. Chernenko said at the All-Army Conference of Komsomol Organization Secretaries, "that the contribution of the Leninist Komsomol to the development of the country will continue to grow and multiply." I will go further: Drawing up the plans for the next 5-year plan and for the period through the turn of the century, we are largely counting on the skill of the hands, the daring thought, and the labor consciousness of today's young people. After all, the bulk of the work on the implementation of these plans will fall to the lot of those who are of komsomol age today.

This is why the communist party regards work with the komsomol and among young people as its important strategic task, a prime precondition for, and a reliable guarantee of the continuity of generations, and a way to ensure the indelible moral and political unity of our Soviet society.

This is why no one today can or must stand aside from this work which concerns the whole party and the whole state.

Further, Comrade D.A. Kunayev dwelt on questions of the participation of the republic's young people in the development of Soviet Kazakhstan's diversified economy and culture, and their contribution to the fulfillment of the 5-year plan targets.

It can be said with firm conviction, he emphasized, that in our country today there is no sector of economic and sociocultural building where young people, loyal to Lenin's behest, do not make their mark, where they do not show initiative.

It is enough to recall young people's heroic deeds during the opening up of the virgin lands and the courage of the builders of the Kazakhstan Magnitka who have added quite a number of vivid pages to the history of Leninist Komsomol. Their traditions live on and are being developed.

For fruitful work and successes achieved in the communist education of young people high government awards have been bestowed on the Kentau and Rudnyy City and Yermентаuskiy, Komsomolskiy, and Chubartauskiy Rayon Komsomol organizations and the republic komsomol organization has been awarded the Order of Lenin.

As you can see, we have every reason to be truly proud of the republic's komsomol and young people and their glorious work and achievements. Young people possess profound fundamental knowledge in all spheres of science and technology. They are noted for their creative enterprising approach, their energy and their will to achieve their goal, selflessness, and great labor enthusiasm.

One in three of the republic's working people is a young person of komsomol age. More than half a million young men and women are employed in industry,

150,000 in the sphere of capital construction, and around 300,000 in the service sphere and transport. Young people have clearly made their mark on agriculture, where, loyal to the traditions of the virgin land pioneers, almost 600,000 young farmers and livestock breeders are working. Young people play an important role in science, culture and art, in people's education and health care. Our young servicemen are vigilantly performing their difficult military service.

Young people are in the forefront of scientific and technical progress, the intensification of production, and the implementation of the Food and Energy Programs. A major concern of the republic's komsomol is patronage over the development of the economy of sovkhozes and kolkhozes and the production of goods for the people, particularly goods in the children's range. Young people are studying hard and persistently, they are training to become worthy specialists in the national economy.

There are few people of the older generation in our country now, whose youth was not spent in hectic komsomol work, who were not schooled and launched on their working careers by the komsomol.

The party regards the komsomol as its reliable reserve and proven helper. Many people have risen from its ranks and now head some of the most important enterprises and construction projects, and even whole sectors. Quite a number hold leading positions in party, soviet, and economic work. Former komsomol members are noted scientists, figures in literature and the arts, major specialists, and true masters of their profession.

Some 99 USSR and Kazakh Supreme Soviet deputies are young people. Young people play an active part in trade union committees, people's control organs, and all other public and state organizations.

We will continue to boldly entrust great and responsible tasks to young people, to temper and promote a worthy replacement for ourselves, the speaker said. It is obvious to everyone: Their shock labor, energy, and knowledge have greatly contributed to the heights which we have reached in the social and economic development of Soviet Kazakhstan in the fraternal family of our country's people's. This is clearly visible in every sector of our economy and culture.

Take industry, for example. Its performance is confident and stable. Over the past 9 months of the current year the volume of industrial production has increased by 4 percent, which is more than was planned. Extraction of coal, oil, gas, and iron ore and the production of rolled ferrous metals, tin plate, tractors, rubber, mineral fertilizers, polystyrene, silk and cotton fabrics, and consumer goods is proceeding ahead of schedule.

Labor productivity has risen by 3.5 percent and this factor accounted for around 90 percent of the increase in production.

These indicators are not bad. But they could have been better still if everyone was working harmoniously and efficiently.

The problem of laggard enterprises is still with us. There are now fewer of them, but they still exist. In East Kazakhstan and Turgay Oblasts one in five enterprises has failed to fulfill the plans. And in Aktyubinsk, Dzhambul, Dzhezkazgan, and Karaganda oblasts the figure is one in six.

As you can see, the current organizational and political work aimed at overcoming the lag once and for all is clearly insufficient. The style of leadership is changing only slowly.

An important factor of industrial performance is the fulfillment of contractual deliveries. And yet, many enterprises in Aktyubinsk, Alma-Ata, Karaganda, Kustanay, Semipalatinsk, Turgay, and Tselinograd Oblasts habitually fail to cope with this indicator. The situation is poor in the ministries of nonferrous metallurgy, the construction materials industry, local industry, and some others. And meanwhile consumers are impatiently waiting for our output. Poor work by one group of enterprises prevents others from working well.

Much has been said about the production of consumer goods. And the results here are self-evident. In the current year more than R8 billion worth of them has been produced. Demand is being satisfied increasingly fully. Every soviet family is aware of this.

The concern now is the quality of the produced goods, their range, and the increased production of goods in special demand. This is our main task. And it has to be tackled with greater skill and persistence, flexibility, and, if you wish, enterprise. Here there is much scope for komsomol organizations' activity.

Technical progress is an important issue in industry. Kazakh industry has always been in the vanguard of this great cause which reflects a need experienced by the country as a whole. But, unfortunately, certain ministries, regularly, year after year, fail to meet the targets for the introduction of new machinery and progressive production techniques.

Our industry, the speaker went on, also has other problems--assimilation of capacities on time, equipment workload, reduction of material and labor costs, organization of labor and of labor safety measures, and much else. The significance of each of these elements must not be underestimated in any way. In the elimination of all problem areas in both heavy and light industry we count on the most vigorous assistance of the komsomol and all young people employed in these key sectors of the national economy.

This calls for organization, efficiency, order, and discipline and the struggle to obtain these must not be relaxed for a minute. What is needed is a new type of economic thinking as described by the party.

Complex, multifaceted work lies ahead. And it must begin with young workers, technicians, and engineers. With the people who are entering production for the first time and who tomorrow will be its masters in their own right.

The forms and methods of this work are well known. They have been tested in practice and confirmed by years of experience. Comrades, young people can



achieve a great deal, provided they are properly organized and truly spurred on to work great deeds. But this is exactly what is often lacking. It is no secret that almost 30,000 young workers in industry regularly fail to fulfill output norms. Many of them are not involved in competition, have not adopted personal pledges, do not operate personal savings tallies, or implement creative plans.

This is characteristic of the Novodzhambulskiy phosphorus plant, the Kustanay worsted combine, the Turgay bauxite ore-smelting enterprise, and a whole number of other enterprises and associations.

All this is explained by the fact that leaders and party committee secretaries at certain enterprises exert insufficient influence on production matters and on the creation of a sound moral and psychological climate in their collectives. Due attention is not being paid to the provision of proper working and living conditions and to concrete work with vocational technical school graduates and young specialists.

Young people need an older friend, a mentor, a magnanimous person, a true educator. Wherever there are such mentors, young people are developing actively and scaling height after height.

Nonetheless, comrades, in some places even the noble cause of mentorship is affected by formalism, and even soullessness. How is one to interpret the fact that in the city of Dzhambul a certain Statsenko, an active member of a religious community, was appointed a young people's mentor, was featured on the board of honor, and was declared a shock worker of communist labor.

It is necessary, Comrade D.A. Kunayev stressed, again and again to take a critical look at the forms and methods of the rising generations's labor education, to strive merely for numbers and totals, to retain only that which is vital and which truly educates and interests young people.

Every young production worker, and all the more so those who are joining a labor collective for the first time, must be able to feel an older comrade's reliable support and guiding hand and to understand clearly that all their work is followed and watched over by the whole collective ready, if necessary, to come to their assistance without delay.

Our task is to resolutely mobilize young people to accelerate intensification, and increase the efficiency of industrial enterprises, and on this basis, successfully implement the pledges which we have adopted for the ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of the plans for the current year and the 5-year plan as a whole.

The speaker further observed that young people occupy an exceptional place in capital construction. This sector is now developing particularly rapidly and vigorously in the republic.

Since the beginning of the year, R 3.7 billion worth of new fixed capital has been commissioned. The production base has been noticeably strengthened with the addition of new capacities whose cost exceeded R2.6 billion.

The working people received around 3.4 million square meters of housing. Many general educational schools, children's preschool establishments, hospitals, polyclinics, new trade centers, and cultural establishments have been commissioned. Modern projects have embellished many of our cities and settlements, rayon centers, and kolkhoz and sovkhoz estates.

Behind all this is the intensive labor of construction workers which is now both more efficient and of a higher quality. Here too, young people are in the forefront. Following the party's call, the komsomol is tackling the resolution of key national economic problems facing the republic.

The vast army of young constructions workers has increased by a further 10,000 people over the past 3 years. Nowadays almost one-third of all construction and installation work is carried out by young people in our republic.

At the same time, the elimination of problem areas proceeds slowly. We continue to encounter delays in the commissioning of industrial and sociocultural projects, and low quality construction work on certain types of buildings. Last year in the republic as a whole, only 10 percent of projects was commissioned in the first quarter, 20 percent each in the second and third quarter, and 50 percent at the end of the year in the fourth quarter. A similar picture is repeating itself this year.

The quality of the construction of housing, schools, children's establishments, and other sociocultural projects must be radically improved. The well known CPSU Central Committee resolution which was adopted following the publication in PRAVDA of a letter entitled "A Word About Construction Workers' Honor" obliges us to do so. As the resolution emphasized, this question now represents a key economic and social task which accords with the interests of the broadest strata of the population.

In order to resolve it successfully, the speaker noted, it is necessary to resolutely mobilize all workers in the sector, and primarily young people, to improve the quality of work and to impart to them a sense of pride in their profession, and a sense of responsibility for the fulfillment of the plan targets for the current year and the 5-year plan as a whole.

At present there is a great influx of young people into the construction industry. Regrettably, certain ministries and departments, party, soviet, and economic organs leave the recruitment and placement of young people to chance. They pay little attention to the creation of the prerequisites for highly productive labor and concern themselves with young people's spiritual needs.

The result of this attitude is a high cadre turnover among young construction workers. Their number has in recent years decreased by almost 2,000 within the system of the Ministry of Rural Construction, and by 1,000 people in the Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work.

There are 27 Komsomol shock construction projects in the republic. Two of them--the Ekibastuz Complex and the Tselinogradselmash Association--are All-Union shock construction projects. We have accumulated a wealth of experience in this sphere, as has already been noted. However, we must not turn a

blind eye to shortcomings. Things are in a bad way, are they not, for instance, when at the selfsame Ekibastuz site up to 50 percent of members of komsomol assignments are turned away? On Tselinogradselmach projects there is chronic failure to fulfill plans for construction and installation work.

There is not one komsomol youth collective at Shulbinskaya GES despite the fact that it has been proclaimed a komsomol shock project. While at another shock project, the Chilsayskiy Phosphorite Ore Mine, only 1 in 7 of the more than 2,000 workers is a komsomol member.

The republic komsomol Central Committee and komsomol organizations at local level must rectify the situation, and the sooner the better. Everything positive that has been accumulated over the many years of komsomol shock projects must be utilized. They must become true shock labor projects.

The task is to considerably step up party leadership of capital construction, ensure the dynamic development of the sector, and enhance the technical and engineering standard of construction.

On the subject of industry, construction, and other economic sectors, Comrade D.A. Kunayev stressed that it was necessary to ensure their normal work in winter conditions. The CPSU Central Committee has noted the special need to organize stable and rhythmical supplies of fuel, electricity, heat, raw materials, and semi-finished products to all consumers during the fall and winter period. Exceptional economic and sociopolitical significance is now being attached to this task. And we must resolve it without fail.

And now, comrades, I turn to the rural economy. Working people in rural areas are particularly busy now. The agricultural year is drawing to a close. Harvest work and preparations for the wintering of livestock are being completed. And all this requires great effort, energy, and--most important--efficient and careful planning of action.

Kazakhstan's place in the production and procurement of grain is well known. However, in recent years, and this year in particular, weather conditions have been exceptionally complex and extremely difficult. It is now of utmost importance to swiftly complete the harvest, particularly of grain corn, rice, sugar beets, potatoes, and vegetables. Losses of products must not be allowed to occur under any circumstances. Everything that has been grown must be gathered and dispatched to storage facilities in full. This is a matter of honor, a matter of the conscience of every communist, komsomol member, and every rural worker today.

Wherever certain successes have been achieved, it is now important to consolidate and augment them, and whenever a lag has been allowed to build up, exhaustive measures to eradicate it must be adopted. There is only one solution for all of us: to do everything scientifically, efficiently, to a high standard, and at the best time. This applies equally to fall and winter agricultural jobs and the entire range of work in preparation for spring sowing, and to the wintering of livestock without losses and problems.

The CPSU Central Committee instructions point us all in that direction, Comrade D.A. Kunayev said. Every kilogram of feed must be accounted for today. Feed must be used in a manner to ensure high returns, to achieve a real increase in the productivity of livestock, to retain the existing livestock population and on this basis to fulfill without fail the plans for the production and procurement of all types of livestock products.

We must develop militant competition among livestock breeders on a broader basis, send the best communists and komsomol members to livestock units, and create the prerequisites for their highly productive labor. It must be borne in mind that the successful wintering of livestock is an absolutely crucial and honorable task which concerns all rural workers.

In this respect, the report emphasizes, we are pinning high hopes on the komsomol and on our young people. Since the times of heroic virgin lands exploit, Kazakh agriculture has been in the hands of young people.

Nowadays our young men and women, as they participate directly in the intensification of production, are assimilating new progressive production techniques, confidently mastering industrial forms of agricultural labor, acting as true champions of scientific and technical progress, and are developing the mature qualities of careful, zealous masters of the land.

All this is good. However, concern is being aroused by another matter. By no means everywhere are the initiatives put forward by the komsomol carried through to their logical conclusion, by no means always do they produce the end result for which they were conceived.

In this context the speaker criticized the work of Semipalatinsk Komsomol members who are losing ground in their patronage of the development of sheep breeding. In view of that, is it possible to claim that the corresponding party committees are doing a proper job as regards youth affairs? Comrade D.A. Kunayev asked.

Kustanay Komsomol members' initiatives are clearly not backed up sufficiently by organizational work. At one time a good initiative was put forward: "A komsomol youth collective at every livestock unit." And yet today, even according to report data, such collectives have been established only at one in three livestock units.

In Kokchetav Oblast in the seventies there was a widespread movement encouraging young women to become tractor drivers. But it is forgotten now. In many rayons the number of women machine-operators is diminishing with every passing year.

This is how useful, good initiatives peter out halfway through. And without absolving the komsomol of its responsibility, the speaker said, I must note that here party organs which fail to provide timely and proper backing for young people are also to blame. The result are losses of a production and educational nature.



Party, soviet, and agricultural organs and rural komsomol and trade union organizations must bear in mind the fact that we are entering the final year of the 5-year plan which should produce impressive results both in arable farming and stockraising.

Organizational and political work among young people in rural areas must be considerably stepped up, young people must be skillfully mobilized to bring about a further upsurge in all sectors of the agroindustrial complex, and translate into reality all the tasks put forward by the Food Program. The young people's contribution to the increased production of grain, meat, milk, and other products must become more substantial and weighty.

When speaking about our tasks in industry, capital construction, and other economic sectors, the report goes on, it is important to pay special attention to questions of the maximum utilization of all available resources and all-round reinforcement of the policy of savings and thrift.

These are acute problems. As you know, Comrade K.U. Gnernenko spoke about them at length at the All-Union Conference of People's Controllers. We cannot put up with squandering, with the uneconomic expenditure of raw materials and semifinished products, and still less with misappropriations and pilfering of socialist property.

Thrift must become the absolute law, governing all our economic life. And it is extremely important, as Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich emphasized, to resolutely exercise one's great rights wherever shortcomings and scandalous practices are combatted only by words and not by deeds."

The work of all our people's controllers and komsomol Searchlight [Prozhektor] staffs and detachments must be considerably stepped up in precisely these areas. It is necessary both to improve its results and to make it more efficient.

A great deal of work with the young generation is concentrated in the republic's educational establishments. After all, there are more than 1 million juveniles and young men and women engaged in studies in the republic. Most of them are mastering in depth and with good results the rudiments of the sciences and Marxist-Leninist theory and preparing seriously for socially useful labor. Komsomol members and students are developing noble civic and moral qualities. They have much good and useful work to their credit.

At the same time, at a whole number of educational establishments, Komsomol organizations have so far failed to become the real focus of young people's social activity. We still encounter truancy, and the success rate at schools and colleges is rising too slowly.

On the other hand, the number of young people who have been to detoxification clinics, violated the law, or even committed crimes is growing much faster. Over the past 18 months in Kzyl-Orda Oblast alone, 506 senior pupils and vocational technical school students, along with 35 of their mentors--teachers and foremen--have ended up at detoxification stations.

It is necessary to considerably intensify the training of future teachers, and the school reform makes this imperative. The Kazakh Pedagogical Institute Party Committee and Rectorate are not paying enough attention to the work of their komsomol organization. In certain departments of this educational establishment, one, or perhaps two, komsomol meetings are being held per year, and they are attended by less than half the komsomol membership.

As a consequence of serious educational flaws and shortcomings in the work by some VUZ's and their komsomol organizations, we still encounter instances of young specialists failing to report at the place where they have been posted. In Alma-Ata Oblast alone, one-third of all available agronomists, animal breeding specialists, veterinary doctors, and forestry specialists are working in trade, the supply and market sphere, or communal and consumer service enterprises—anywhere but in agriculture.

As you see, comrades, some thorough work must be done to ensure that atmosphere in our educational establishments becomes as pure as crystal and acquires great social meaning, and that the educators really inculcate their pupils with true love for their chosen vocation, nobility, and lofty responsibility for the common cause and arm them with profound and lasting knowledge up to the most modern standards.

It is a vital task of the Kazakh Komsomol Central Committee and the komsomol obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms to give maximum attention to the work of our VUZ's, technical colleges, vocational and technical schools, and general educational schools and raise considerably the standards of activity by komsomol organizations in educational establishments and scientific institutions.

Our task in the sphere of ideological and political educational work, Comrade D.A. Kunayev went on to say, are expounded with utmost accuracy, and in specific terms, and are scientifically substantiated in Comrade K.U. Chernenko's report to the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum and in his address at the USSR Writers Union Jubilee Plenum. The republic's party organization is working consistently on their implementation.

The party committees are paying more attention to the ideological and theoretical training of young people. More than 0.5 million young men and women in our country are enrolled in various forms of the komsomol's political education. The tuition of social sciences in education establishments is improving. Many young people are persistently studying communism and acquiring the habit of applying the knowledge they have gained in practical work. Much work is being done by our komsomol propaganda workers.

But shortcomings still remain in the political training of young people. They are connected primarily with the sporadic and unsystematic organization of studies, the superficial and shallow explanation of the subject matter being studied, and the weak links between this subject matter and real life. Quite often the courses or seminars fall apart by the middle of the study year, simply without having completed the study program.

Serious inadequacies in the organization of the komsomol's political education network are tolerated in Guryev and North Kazakhstan Oblasts. Many young men and women in Kustany, Mangyshlak, and Pavlodar Oblasts are altogether outside the political education system.

It must be emphasized that we are still making inadequate use of the most extensive arsenal of means to exert ideological influence on young people. It is by no means always that the specific features, age group characteristics, and interests of young men and women are taken into account. Numerous processes are occurring among young people without our active intervention and frequently unbeknown to the komsomol.

It is no secret that a certain number of adolescents get carried away by what are far from the best examples of Western music, and by ideologically and esthetically dubious discotheques, vocal and instrumental groups, and other similar associations.

At the same time, our ideological and komsomol workers often show an excusable passivity in this precise sphere and fail to combat properly the infiltration of immorality and blind imitation of Western fashions among young people.

I must note, the speaker emphasized, that our creative unions, and especially the Kazakh Composers Union, the Ministry of Culture, and the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting still leave much to be desired in their propaganda of our own classical and truly highly artistic musical works, and at times try to avoid any specific participation in young people's education.

It is our common duty to inculcate in young men and women healthy tastes, truly cultured behavior, and proper respect for their elders, and to significantly improve their esthetic education.

The Soviet people's greater material prosperity must without fail be accompanied by intensification of the entire process of ideological and moral education--the encouragement of sensible consumption and sensible behavior. Otherwise there will inevitably occur disruptions and recurrences of petty bourgeois mentality, which are especially dangerous among young people.

Shameless bourgeois propaganda is aimed primarily against the young people. Our ideological adversary stubbornly persists with his large-scale subversive activities aimed at discrediting our political system and Soviet democracy and at disseminating distorted views on the individual's position under socialism and the guarantees of citizens' rights and freedoms.

All these attacks pursue a single goal--to weaken the Soviet people's cohesion round the party and inflict political and economic damage on our state.

The party organizations and ideological departments must conduct more active counterpropaganda work and persistently mold among young people a clear-cut perception of the goals and nature of the campaign unleashed by imperialist propaganda.

Here it is especially important to intensify the young people's internationalist education. Our republic has accumulated experience in this work. This experience is being incessantly developed and improved. The task now is to continue to constantly enrich this work and supplement it with new forms and deeper meaning.

A special point has to be made regarding work with the republic's youngest citizens, the young pioneers. It is a most important task to nurture among them a sense of devotion to the cause of the party and the people. All school children and young men and women must know the anthem of the Soviet Union and of their own republic, and the party anthem, the Internationale. Each komsomol member and each young pioneer must be educated in a spirit of respect for the state symbols--the emblem and flag--and grow into a true patriot of his motherland. This honorable work must be entrusted to those who possess pedagogical talents and who are fond of working with children. Is it right and proper to tolerate the fact that, in some places, the duty of senior young pioneer leader is seen simply as a sinecure.

The shortcomings in the educational work by many schools have a negative effect on the process of young people's maturation.

We still come across young people who, under the most varied pretexts, avoid socially beneficial labor and act as parasites. At the same time, the state is creating all the necessary conditions to enable the young men and women to participate actively and creatively in the vast creative work by the Soviet people, acquire proper labor tempering, and gain respect and public recognition.

It is very important to improve the organized recruitment of workers and social call-up of young people for the most important construction projects of the 5-year plan. This work must be seen as a responsible assignment by the party and the government and a great patriotic and internationalist cause. The komsomol must determine for each 5-year period a list of shock labor construction projects, which will be built basically by conscripted young people.

Serious work in this connection must be done by all our ministries and departments, and especially the State Committee for Labor. This is especially so in view of the fact that this department's recent accountability report to the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau brought to light quite a few major shortcomings in its activity, and work must be done more responsibly to eliminate them.

An indispensable role in the young people's labor, ideological, political, and moral education, Comrade D.A. Kunayev went on to say, has to be played by the party, war, and labor veterans. Who else, if not they, would be most appropriate to transmit to the young men and women their rich experience of life and the class tempering acquired in labor and in combat.

Many veterans engage in such work indefatigably and fruitfully. We are grateful and thankful for this. We will continue to rely on their broadest and selfless assistance in all matters concerning young people and especially in their military-patriotic education.



The 40th anniversary of the Soviet people's great victory over fascism is approaching. This will be a celebration for all generations of Soviet people. We had to pay a high price for peace. And today our party and the Soviet government are doing everything to preserve and strengthen it in today's complex international situation.

In this connection, it is our common sacred duty to constantly intensify the young people's military-patriotic education, improve the work by the Army Komsomol, step up the general educational and physical preparation of young draftees, and enhance the role and significance of the activity by defense-sports societies, DOSAAF organizations, and mass physical culture and sports. These are the goals set by the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the komsomol.

A special role in the noble work of educating the young people has been assigned to the press, television, and radio. They are called upon to delve more deeply into the essence of the processes occurring in the milieu of young people, be more daring in diversifying the material aimed at young people, and enhance the ideological content and professional standards of publications and programs. The Kazakh Komsomol Central Committee must improve considerably the leadership of its press organs and youth editorial offices and guide them more daringly toward closer ties with life and active performance of their functions as collective propaganda workers and organizers of the young people.

Comrades! The komsomol's strength lies in leadership by the party. The party committees must inquire constantly and deeply into all the komsomol's affairs and issues, analyze and guide them correctly, and provide prompt support for everything that is valuable and useful in young people's work. Under no circumstances must petty departmental tutelage be allowed in this work. Utmost conviction, comradely attention, and practical assistance--this is the unconditional requirement regarding the style of our actions.

This is precisely how our party committees behave in most instances. They have accumulated considerable experience in party leadership of the komsomol. The questions of young people's education and their participation in labor and study are constantly at the center of attention of all our party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms. These problems are being fruitfully examined and resolved by the Alma-Ata, Karaganda, Chimkent, Tselinograd, and other obkoms.

The Kazakh Communist Party has posted 85,000 young communists to work in the komsomol, and over the last 10 years the party nucleus in the komsomol has doubled. This, of course, means solid assistance and support for our Leninist Komsomol.

But something else is just as completely clear--it is our own party shortcomings that are behind each slip in the komsomol's work and behind each slump in young people's education. The examples given today are the negative instances of which communists have spoken at previous plenums, aktiv meetings, and party meetings indicate only one thing: The party leadership of the komsomol must be enhanced further and further, it must be skillfully honed and brought fully in line with present requirements.

Is it right and proper, the speaker went on to stress, that, for years on end, some leaders, including party obkom, gorkom, and raykom secretaries, have not found any spare time to visit the young people, address komsomol meetings, have a chat in youth hostels, and properly help the young men and women in organizing their practical work.

In our practical work we still encounter instances when matters concerning young people's work, study and life are decided without the komsomol's committees' participation and even by circumventing them. This is the result of great shortcomings by local ispolkoms and trade union and economic organs.

It is natural that the decisive and main opinion on all youth problems must be given by the komsomol itself. It is important that it should learn to make skillful use of the party's assistance and support.

Think back to how V.I. Lenin presented the matter. His call was that "each day and in any village and in any city the young people should resolve practically some task of common labor even if it be the smallest or the simplest one."

And everything here depends on the style, methods, precision, and purposefulness of activity by komsomol committees and on their ability to constantly improve and put in order their organizational and political work among the young people.

The selection, placement, and education of komsomol cadres have been and still remain central issues of style. This is a major party task for us. The qualitative composition of all komsomol cadres and members of elective komsomol organs was analyzed in detail during the preparation for today's aktiv meeting. Unfortunately, much still remains to be done in this sphere. We have not finally overcome the instances of obviously unprepared and at times untalented persons being promoted to komsomol work. There are also individual cases of infiltration by calculating petty careerists. Quite a few komsomol workers are still dismissed for negative reasons, such as having compromised themselves or having failed to cope with their work. There is not a single agricultural specialists among the secretaries of the komsomol's 10 obkoms and 62 rural raykoms.

This state of affairs must be put right. Promotion to komsomol work must be given to those young men and women who enjoy real trust and respect among young people and possess the proper skills of a komsomol leader. We must considerably improve the training of komsomol cadres and aktiv members, build up an active reserve for the future, and launch the necessary work with them.

"It is well known," Comrade K.U. Chernenko has said, "that the young people love real and genuine leaders. They would follow such leaders through thick and thin. Such love cannot be earned easily. But it must be earned. And it must be earned, unquestionably, by specific deeds, by personal contribution to the noble cause of Soviet youth's communist education."

I would like to think that these words will be taken by all our komsomol aktiv members as wise guidance today, for tomorrow, and for all their lives.

At the end of his speech, Comrade D.A. Kunayev dwelt on the tasks concerning the conduct of the report and election campaign in komsomol organizations. This, he noted, is a serious test not only for the komsomol, but also for the party committees. This is even more so in view of the fact that this will be the first report and election campaign to be held since the publication of the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Further Improvement of Party Leadership of the Komsomol and the Enhancement of Its Role in the Communist Education of Young People."

It is our common task to ensure the serious organizational and political consolidation of the komsomol ranks and enhance the komsomol's activity in all spheres of the economy, culture, science, and education.

There is no doubt that, guided by the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 15th Kazakh Communist Party Congress, the republic's communists will manage to rally the young people even more closely and channel their energy, reason, and will toward the solution of great constructive tasks facing Soviet Kazakhstan today.

Allow me to assure the CPSU Central Committee, its politburo and Comrade K.U. Chernenko personally, that the Kazakh Communist party will do everything necessary to ensure that the 2.5-million-strong komsomol army in the republic will score new successes in labor and study and will justify by its deeds the lofty trust of our own Leninist party and the love and respect of the whole great soviet people.

(Comrade D.A. Kunayev's report was listened to with great attention.)

CSO: 1830/78

## REGIONAL

### KAZAKH COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEETS

CF311302 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Russian 0210 GMT 31 Oct 84

[Text] The Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers held a meeting yesterday. The results of fulfilling the state economic and social development plan of the Kazakh SSR and the republic's state budget from January to December 1984 were discussed. It was noted that, guided by the decisions of the February and October 1984 plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and also the 11th and 12th plenums of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, the collectives of the republic's production associations, enterprises, construction firms, and organizations have achieved widespread socialist emulation for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the annual plans and achieved further successes in economic and cultural construction.

The program for raising the standard of living of the population is being verified; the average wages of the workers and employees increased; the retail trade turnover increased by (75.7) percent; and the volume of the domestic services increased by 9.3 percent. At the same time, some of the republic's ministries and departments and oblast Soviet executive committees have not ensured the fulfillment of the planned tasks.

The Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers obliged the ministers and leaders of the republic's departments, the oblast Soviet executive committees, and Alma-Ata City Soviet Executive Committee to abide by the decisions of the February, April, and October 1984 CPSU Central Committee plenums, the instructions of Comrade Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, on the questions of developing the economy and culture and also the decisions of the 13th plenum of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, to ensure the further improvement of the economic activity, to strive to get rid of the delay in the production of the individual products during the fourth quarter of the current year, to take the necessary measures for maintaining the persistent and [word indistinct] work of all the subordinate associations, enterprises, construction firms and organizations, to make preparations for work in winter conditions and to ensure the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the planned tasks during 1984.

The meeting also examined the drafts of the Kazakh SSR economic and social development plan and the Kazakh SSR state budget for 1985.

The meeting was addressed by Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbayev, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers.



## REGIONAL

### DEMOGRAPHIC PROCESSES MUST BE REGULATED TO STRENGTHEN FAMILY

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Sep 84 p 1

[Article: "Concern About the Family"]

[Text] In the materials of the June (1983) and April (1984) CPSU Central Committee plenums and the Basic Directions of the Reform of the General Educational and Vocational School the need to increase the role of the family in the life of society is stressed with new force. The Moscow City Committee of the CPSU and the Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet in recent years have increased the attention to the questions of the strengthening of the family and the increase of its role in the communist education of the rising generation.

In Moscow there are more than 2.3 million families. It is encouraging that the number of families is constantly increasing. The material conditions of their life are improving. About 80 percent of Muscovites live in individual apartments with all modern conveniences, in which more than 2.1 million private televisions have been installed, 62 percent of the little Muscovites attend 2,814 preschool institutions. The average monthly wage of workers and employees is more than 185 rubles.

Among those working in the national economy 59 percent are women. But the working woman as before remains a mother, a housewife and the prime rearer of children. According to some calculations, in the two-child family the housework of a working mother takes up more than 5 hours a day. Men spend one-third to one-half as much time on this. On the average a Moscow family raises one child, only about 2 percent of the families have three and more minor children. The fact that annually more than 40,000 families dissolve their marriage, cannot but cause alarm. As a result about 30,000 children and adolescents remain with one of their parents. But here is the following statistic: 8 out of 10 juvenile delinquents grow up in a troubled or broken family.

The most correct means of normalizing the demographic situation is the strengthening of the family and the support first of all of families with three and two children. And not by chance did the Buro of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU and the Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet adopt in 1977 the decree "On the State of and Measures on the Improvement of

the Demographic Situation and the Stimulation of the Natural Growth of the Population of Moscow." Much of what was outlined in it has been fulfilled. The foundations of the comprehensive, systems solution of this difficult social problem are being laid in Moscow.

The building of a family is a matter of enormous political, economic and social importance. The main social wealth--the person--is developed and for the most part is formed precisely in the family. Of course, the question of how many children there will be in the family, is of an exclusively personal nature. But very much in the life of society depends on its settlement. According to calculations, in Moscow in 1981-1985 the size of the population of able-bodied age decreased by approximately 200,000-210,000 (as a result of its "aging"). This can seriously affect the development of the economy of the city. For this reason it is so important that a second and third child would appear in the family.

Considering it necessary to support families with three and more minor children, the Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet together with the Moscow City Council of Trade Unions changed the rules of the placement of such families on the register for the improvement of housing conditions. The number of families with many children, which are in line for the improvement of housing conditions, on 1 July 1984 came to 2.7 percent of the total number of those waiting their turn. This is few, and it is possible to provide them with living space in good time, which is confirmed by the work of the executive committees of Frunzenskiy and Leninskiy rayons.

Annually more than 90,000 young people get married. And the first problem, with which they are faced, is the housing problem. During the period from 1983 to June 1984 the families of young couples received more than 1,000 apartments and more than 2,000 rooms. The Registration and Allocation of Housing Administration of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee permits the executive committees of the rayon soviets to use for the needs of the rayon up to 40 percent of the area which has been vacated by the departure of citizens. However, young couples, as a rule, do not find themselves among the claimants. In Gagarinskiy, Leningradskiy and Oktyabrskiy rayons there are families of young couples, which have been on the register since 1978-1979. Many rayons are acting even "more wisely": they do not register young couples. If there is no line, there are not problems. Such a situation is intolerable.

The trade and personal service of families with many children is no less important. The Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet deemed it expedient to grant them additional benefits with the presentation of the corresponding certificate. For the first time in the country families, which have three and more children, received the right to medical, trade, personal and municipal service and the provision of children's preschool institutions out of turn. Now there are more than 18,000 such families in the city. They treated attentively the organization of the service on food orders of families with many children in Moskvoretskiy, Sovetskiy, Kuybyshevskiy, Kirovskiy, Voroshilovgradskiy, Brezhnevskiy and Volgogradskiy rayons. The Executive Committee of the Timiryazevskiy Rayon Soviet helped Store No 17 of the Detskiy mir Trade Firm to organize better the service of families with many

children. The families of Timiryazevskiy and Zheleznodorozhnyy rayons, which are attached to this store, speak positively of its work.

And still the attitude toward families with many children and the quality of their service at times evoke just reproaches. The letters received by the editorial office, the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee and other organizations attest to this.

Some stores of the Gastronom, Ovoshchi-frukty, Diyeta, Moloko and Okean trade firms do not want to take families with many children for service, in spite of the requests of the trade departments of the executive committees of the rayon soviets. Difficulties also arise with respect to the service of families with many children on days before holidays. The Main Administration of Trade and the executive committees of the rayon soviets should establish order in this matter.

Labor collectives are taking part in the creation of conditions, which promote the strengthening of the family and the firm establishment in everyday life of the norms of communist morality. The party and trade union organizations of enterprises and institutions should keep the education of children in their field of view, should give assistance to parents and should hold them strictly accountable for the defects in family education. At more than 1,200 enterprises, institutions and organizations of the city commissions for questions of the family and marriage have been set up or the rights of the commissions for the promotion of the family and the school have been broadened.

However, at a number of enterprises an indifferent attitude toward the family has taken root. The attention to it and to its everyday life have disappeared from the sphere of activity of the administration and publication organizations. For example, at the Trekhgornaya manufaktura Combine the questions connected with the family have not once been examined in the trade union committees, at meetings and in the shops. Some labor collectives and public organizations are not shaping public opinion and do not give a principled evaluation of those who are to blame for the breakup of the family and deviate from the fulfillment of parental duties. There are many instances when the managers of public organizations state: "It is not our task to look into family matters." The rayon soviet executive committees, the permanent commissions of the rayon soviets, the commissions for juvenile affairs, the administration and public organizations should devote more attention to what the family lives by, how it raises the children and in what it is experiencing difficulties.

The regulation of demographic processes in a large city is an extremely difficult matter. Time is raising new problems in the sphere of the family, which it is necessary to learn to solve. But this requires the constant thoughtful work of party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs, work which is based on a thorough, truly state understanding of the role of the family in the life of our society.

7807

CSO: 1800/9

## REGIONAL

### KAZAKH CP CC DISCUSSES LABOR, WORK FORCE, OTHER ISSUES

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 84 p 1

[Article: "At the Buro of the Kazakh CP Central Committee"]

[Text] The regular meeting of the Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro reviewed the question of the work of the Kazakh SSR State Committee for Labor [Goskomtrud]. It was noted that the republic's Goskomtrud is taking measures to improve the use of labor resources and to provide the national economy with manpower.

At the same time, it was pointed out that the State Committee is exercising weak control over the implementation of state policy in the area of labor and labor utilization. It is losing sight of the questions of improvements in style and methods and of increasing the degree of organization and diligence in the work of the staff and the local subdivisions.

The Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro proposed to the collegium of the Kazakh SSR Goskomtrud (Comrade A.K. Kasynkanov) the elimination of shortcomings and omissions in the work of the labor organs. Guided by the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums and the directives of Comrade K.U. Chernenko to reorganize in a fundamental way the activity of the central apparatus and the regional labor sections, having concentrated it on the resolution of the key problems, the effective use of labor resources, the increase in the level of labor productivity, the development of brigade cost accounting, and the strengthening of labor discipline. To direct to this end all organizational, economic and control work and to strengthen the coordinating work with ministries, departments and other organizations. More closely link the measures being implemented with the realization of specific tasks to intensify production and to fulfill national economic plans and socialist obligations.

The Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro discussed measures for further improvement in the work of transport in serving passengers. It was proposed to party and soviet organs and transport organizations that they bring about the required order and discipline in transport.

Decrees were also adopted in several other questions.



## REGIONAL

### UZBEK SUPREME COURT ON REPEAT OFFENDERS, CORRECTIVE LABOR

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 23 Aug 84 p 1

[UzTAG Article: "At the UzSSR Supreme Court Plenum"]

[Text] The regular plenum of the UzSSR Supreme Court examined the question of the practical application by this republic's courts of the legislation on the fight against repeat crimes in the course of implementing the decrees of the plenums of the USSR Supreme Court and the UzSSR Supreme Court with regard to this problem.

Emphasis was placed on the need to step up the fight against repeat crimes and to strictly punish those persons who have committed new crimes. It was pointed out that there is a large role to be played by labor groups and economic managers in preventing violations of the law on the part of those previously convicted, and in having them share in socially useful labor.

The plenum demanded that this republic's courts react sharply to instances of non-acceptance by the appropriate officials of measures to prevent repeat crimes, and that they eliminate the causes and conditions which facilitate the breaking of the law. The courts have been given explanations with regard to applying the existing legislation, strengthening preventive work, and upgrading the quality of the trials being held.

Likewise discussed was the question of the practical application by this republic's courts of punishment in the form of imprisonment for short terms. It was noted that the practice of the courts must completely exclude unfounded designations of soft measures of punishment for criminal infringements of socialist property and public law and order, the life and health of citizens, as well as other serious crimes. At the same time, for crimes committed for the first time not constituting great public danger the courts should make more extensive use in punishments of the guilty parties of sentences not connected with prison terms. Recently changes have been introduced onto the legislation which considerably increase the effectiveness of punishments which are not connected with imprisonment and which provide a more differentiated approach to law-breakers. In particular, the term of corrective labor has been increased to two years, higher amounts of fines have been set for mercenary and other crimes, and the possibilities have been expanded for utilizing reprieves of sentences and provisional convictions. In this connection, of great importance in the matter of straightening out and re-educating persons whom the courts have

sentenced to punishments not involving isolation from society are the labor groups and public organizations where the convicted persons work or live.

The plenum discussed the report on the work of the Juridical Collegium on Civil Matters of the UzSSR Supreme Court. It was emphasized that the efforts of this Juridical Collegium should be directed at increasing the effectiveness of monitoring the correct and uniform application by the republic's courts of the legislation so that court decisions may always be a model of high cultural standards and juridical literacy, that they may inculcate respect for the legal norms. This pertains especially to labor cases, connected with problems of strengthening discipline and good organization at production facilities, reimbursement of damages caused to the state, residential disputes, cases stemming from marital-family relations, and others which affect the essential interests of the state and its citizens.

The plenum adopted the appropriate decrees on the questions which were discussed. In connection with changes in the existing legislation, the necessary clarifications were introduced into the previously adopted decrees.

The plenum also examined protests regarding specific court trials.

2384

CSO: 1830/15

## REGIONAL

### UZBEK CP CC BURO ON LAW, ELECTIONS, ECONOMIC EXPERIMENTS

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 16 Aug 84 p 1

[Article: "In the Buro of the CP of Uzbekistan Central Committee"]

[Text] The Buro of the CP of Uzbekistan Central Committee at its regular session examined the question of the work done by the enterprises of this republic's electrical-engineering industry and the Pod'yemnik Production Association under the conditions of the economic experiment according to the results of the first six months of 1984. The organizational and political work of the primary party organizations, in conjunction with the conditions presented by the experiment, have given positive results. Product sales have exceeded the plan by 4.1 million rubles. All the enterprises have ensured a growth in labor productivity and have increased the proportion of products with the State Badge of Quality. It was proposed that the party committees, the ministries and departments, enterprises and associations taking part in the experiment conduct work on extensively developing initiative and creativity in labor groups, adopt all measures to develop socialist competition, carry out a series of organizational and economic measures directed at increasing the effectiveness of public production.

Guided by the positions of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, K. U. Chernenko, the Buro of the CP of Uzbekistan Central Committee adopted a decree on stepping up the intensification of the economy during the 12th Five-Year Plan, based on speeding up scientific and technical progress. It was proposed that the party committees utilize the experience of the Leningrad Party Organization with regard to seeking out and putting into operation reserves for the growth of production and labor productivity, economizing on material and financial resources, lowering production costs, and improving product quality.

The Buro approved a comprehensive program for developing the production of consumer goods and the system of public services in the Uzbek SSR.

Measures were examined with regard to conducting accounts and elections in trade unions on a high organizational-political level. It was proposed that the party committees and primary party organizations adopt measures to enhance the organizational role played by the trade unions in developing socialist competition, disseminating progressive experience, improving the conditions of everyday life, rest and recreation for working people, and improving educational work.

Measures were approved with regard to increasing the responsibilities of the personnel of law-enforcement organs in stepping up the fight against crime and the observance of socialist legality in light of the decisions of the 16th Plenum of the CP of Uzbekistan Central Committee.

The party obkoms and raykoms, the ispolkoms of the Soviets of People's Deputies have been entrusted with the task of raising the level of leadership of the law-enforcement organs, the high standards required of personnel for the work entrusted to them, of steadily increasing the effectiveness of each staff member, and improving the purity of the ranks of the law-enforcement organs.

The Buro of the CP of Uzbekistan Central Committee likewise examined certain other questions of organizational-party and ideological work, along with the management of the republic's national economy.

2384

CSO: 1830/15



## REGIONAL

### UZBEK CP CC BURO ON COTTON, DISCIPLINE

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 30 Aug 84 p 1

[Article: "In the Buro of the CP of Uzbekistan Central Committee"]

[Text] The regular session of the Buro of the CP of Uzbekistan Central Committee discussed the tasks of the party, Soviet, and agricultural organs with regard to harvesting cotton and other agricultural crops. A serious lag was noted in many important lines. Taking into account the situation which has taken shape and the accumulation of the crop, it was proposed that the leading officials of the party and Soviet organs, ministries, and departments specify and speed up the time periods for defoliating cotton plants, as well as completing repairs on harvesting equipment, cotton mills, and drying-and-cleaning units. The Buro proposed that very urgent measures be adopted to fulfill the procurement plan for the products of livestock-raising, vegetables, fruits, melon crops, as well as fodders, and the delivery of these products to the All-Union stocks.

The question of further improving the work of transportation in the area of passenger service was also examined. It was proposed that the ministries and departments, party, Soviet, and trade-union organizations ensure more complete utilization of reserves for upgrading the effectiveness and the quality of services, instilling the necessary order and discipline in transportation, as well as increasing the responsibility of the workers for the tasks which have been entrusted to them.

Also discussed was the work of the Bukhara Party Obkom with regard to increasing the responsibility of personnel for observing state and plan discipline in agriculture in the light of the requirements set forth by the 16th Plenum of the CP of Uzbekistan Central Committee. The Buro of the Central Committee obligated the party obkoms and raykoms to guarantee the unwavering observance of Leninist principles in the recruitment, disposition, and education of personnel, to be constantly concerned that all sections of agricultural production be headed up by politically mature and highly qualified workers, capable of solving the complex problems of agriculture. We must persistently improve the qualitative make-up of the middle-level managers, pay more attention to specialists, develop initiative and a business-like quality in the workers, render support to useful initiatives, and manifest concern for the ideological-theoretical "toughening up" of personnel. Attention was directed to the need for increasing the personal responsibility of kolkhoz and sovkhoz managers and specialists for the state of affairs in this sector; this applies principally to workers who violate

state and plan discipline, as well as those who abuse their service positions.

It was proposed that the Bukhara Party Obkom, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry, Glavsredazirsovkhozstroy (possibly-- Main Administration for Central Asian Irrigation and Sovkhoz Construction), and their local organs intensify the standards required of management personnel for introducing the achievements of science and the experience of exemplary workers into agricultural production, for the most rapid possible mastery of crop rotation, and for raising the standards of agriculture.

The following decree of the CP of Uzbekistan Central Committee and the UzSSR Council of Ministers was adopted: "On Measures To Improve the Seed-Growing of Grain, Intermediate Crops, and Alfalfa on the Republic's Farms in the Light of the Requirements Laid Down by the 16th Plenum of the CP of Uzbekistan Central Committee."

The Buro of the CP of Uzbekistan Central Committee examined and adopted decisions on several other problems concerning life in this republic.

2384

CSO: 1830/15

## REGIONAL

### TAJIK CP CC BURO ON PROCUREMENT MINISTRY SHORTCOMINGS

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 1 Aug 84 p 1

[TadzhikTA article: "In the Tajik CP CC Buro"]

[Text] At the regular meeting of the Buro of the Tajik CP Central Committee the question of the work of the Tajik SSR Ministry of Procurement with regard to monitoring the quality of agricultural products and mixed feeds was examined in light of the requirements of the May (1982) and subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee.

At the meeting it was noted that the Tajik SSR Ministry of Procurement is carrying out certain work for improving the procurement of agricultural products and raising their quality. The rates of production of industrial products are growing.

At the same time, as it was indicated in the Central Committee Buro, there are some essential shortcomings in the work of the Tajik SSR Ministry of Procurement in monitoring the quality of agricultural products. Along with the significant fulfillment of the plan in the republic as a whole, a number of farms are not managing to meet the planned goal. The quality of several types of products still remains low. Monitoring of procurements and the quality of agricultural products is inadequate. There are losses of products due to the unsatisfactory organization of its storage. Work on the further development and improvement of the flour milling and mixed feed industries is not being carried out on the proper level.

The Tajik CP Central Committee Buro, in the resolution adopted on this question, obliged the collegium of the Tajik SSR Ministry of Procurement to eliminate the shortcomings noted, to radically improve work in the management of the procurement of agricultural products, and the production of mixed feeds and in raising their quality.

The obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms of the party and the ispolkoms of oblast city and rayon Soviets of people's deputies were charged with raising the personal responsibility of the managers of farms and procurement organizations in the localities for the timely delivery of high quality products in the assigned assortment.

At the meeting of the Tajik CP Central Committee Buro, the question about the progress of the procurement of feeds was examined. It was noted that in a number of farms, the procurement of coarse and succulent feeds is being conducted at low rates. In some places up till now the procurement of succulent feeds has not started and the harvesting of wild grasses, camel's thorn, and reed processing of twigs for feed and the use of potato tops and the waste products of processed vegetables and fruits has been unsatisfactorily organized.

The Tajik CP Central Committee Buro obliged the obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, Soviet and economic organs, the commission of the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers Presidium on the questions of the agroindustrial complex, the republic ministries of agriculture, the fruit and vegetable industry and procurement, the Tajik SSR State Committees for the supply of production equipment for agriculture and for the forestry industry, to strengthen organizational work for the mobilization of workers for the procurement of feeds, to achieve the full supplying of the needs of animal husbandry in high-quality feeds and to ensure their timely transport to places for the wintering of cattle and safekeeping.

The Tajik CP Central Committee Buro discussed the question of measures for regulating the activity of vocal-instrumental ensembles and for raising the ideological and artistic level of their repertoire.

The organs of culture, together with the trade union committees and the komsomol organizations, were given the task of raising the ideological and artistic level of the repertoire of the vocal-instrumental ensembles, of establishing the monitoring of the organization of their professional performances, and of paying special attention to the choice of leaders and to the training and further training of the participants of these collectives.

At the meeting of the buro, questions were discussed about the further improvement of the party leadership of the komsomols and the raising of its role in communist indoctrination of youth, about additional measures for fulfilling the decree of the April (1984) CPSU Central Committee Plenum "On the Basic directions of reform for general education and vocational schools," about the subscription to newspapers and journals for 1985 and about measures for the creation of seed funds for grains and oil bearing crops and grasses for sowing for the 1985 crop.

The Tajik CP Central Committee Buro also examined several other questions of the social-economic and cultural development of the republic.

12596

CSO: 1830/637



## REGIONAL

### 'UNWANTED INVITATIONS' FROM ISRAEL REACH JEWS IN AZERBAIJAN

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 7 Aug 84 p 3

[AzerINFORM article: "Lies have Short Legs: A Rebuke to Zionist Provocateurs"]

[Text] On a Sunday in summer Baku resident Yu. D. Bunyatov, in sorting his mail, unexpectedly discovered among the newspapers and letters an envelope with the return address "Israel." Its sender, a certain Khoresh Moti, thought, obviously, having just received a letter-invitation (pes'mo-vyzov) with permission from the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs for entrance into the promised land, the receiver, having wept from happiness, would rush about like mad collecting his belongings. Especially as the functionaries in Jerusalem had not been niggardly and had given the "OK" for the right for all four members of the Bunyatov family to immigrate.

But.... No, the 35 year old engineer of the Baku Machine Building Plant imeni Lieutenant Shmidt did not hurry to gather his things. The unsolicited letter caused him anger and indignation.

"The person who sent the invitation and visa,"--remarked Yu. Bunyatov," was engaged in a futile task. I never knew and do not want to know this person who not only is not a relative of any of us, but is not known to any member of my family. Perhaps someone who had emigrated to Israel gave him our address and these hawkers who have betrayed our Motherland, have decided to use it for their filthy purposes. It would never even enter our thoughts to abandon our native land, our great Soviet Union."

This is how the Baku engineer unambiguously commented on the "touching concern" of distant zealots of freedom for Soviet Jews. But what do those expect who sent, and with a persistence worthy of a far better use, continue to send such letters with visas, invitations, parcels? Obviously that someone, having naively yielded to Zionist propaganda, will find himself drawn to the West. It is possible that they will manage to share the fate of those of our countrymen in the old days who found after all a "heavenly" existence: in the Israeli press time and again there have been announcements about the death of former Soviet citizens who had yielded to persuasion and had found death in Lebanon. Or, if they are lucky, they will find their desired "freedom" in a world where the greatest opportunities are given...for a formerly highly-skilled engineer to work as a doorman and a teacher of music with 30 years experience to earn her living as a laundress.

The basis of all the provocative invitations of the Zionist intriguers is a lie. They cast prudence to the winds, resort to any deception in order to lure Jews from the Soviet Union. But their gamble, as was noted at the press conference of the Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public in May of this year, has failed and the absolute majority of citizens of Jewish nationality resolutely reject the provocative calls of the Israeli hawkers. The process of reuniting separated families has practically been completed, and those who have believed the Zionist propaganda and express the desire to leave the Soviet Union are becoming ever fewer. This, of course, was emphasized at the press conference; the irritation of the latter-day "defenders" of the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens evokes anger.

However, they do not abandon their attempts. Yu. Bunyatov was not alone in being an object of unsolicited attention and anxiety. Several other Baku residents received a similar invitation, although they had not requested such "service" from anyone. They were not acquainted with the sender of the invitation, a certain Drat Armand. By the way, this person, apparently, specializes in this type of provocation, for the same first name and surname appear on an invitation sent to the address of V. S. Teller. But as he declared, he never requested anyone to send such a document, and the person who sent it was completely unknown to him. In turning to the competent governmental organs, the Baku resident asked that he be protected from the provocative activities.

The distant benefactors received a genuine rebuke from another resident of Baku, M. F. Yudelevich. An unexpected parcel from England evoked not joy from him, as the senders apparently calculated, but justified indignation. "I do not have any relatives or acquaintances in England" writes Moisey Faytelevich, "and therefore I regard the package sent to my address as a provocation. We--I myself and the members of my family--work and are able to support ourselves and, naturally, do not need any help from different philanthropic societies to support us. It would be better if these gentlemen worry about their own unemployed.

A Baku resident answers a certain Ariy Miller, who had sent him an invitation to Israel, with dignity. My wife, says M. Yudelevich is Russian; we have raised and educated three children. Neither I, nor my spouse have any relatives or acquaintances in Israel and none of us need this invitation.

The Baku residents R. presented an original resolution on the document sent from Israel which permitted entrance into this country. This is what they wrote: "Gentlemen from the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs! You, perhaps, have lost your reason and gone crazy if you put a stamp of approval on our agreement. Where did you get this? You have made a serious mistake and your appeal is misdirected. We, with a feeling of profound indignation, resentment and scorn reject your dirty provocative message. We were born and live in the Soviet land; we have only one Motherland--the Soviet Union. We love and value her. Our motherland has given everything to us, supplied all the necessities of life. We have a fine well-built, well-furnished apartment. There is work, the son studies free of charge in an institute and receives

a state stipend. Mainly we have equal rights and freedom for all and there are no exploitative classes. So, gentlemen, receive back your directly message and forget our address and last name forever.

Is ~~commentary~~ commentary necessary here?

It is well known that lies have short legs. And therefore all Zionist attempts to attract people to Israel by deception are doomed to fail in the future also.

12596

CSO: 1830/637

## REGIONAL

### AZERBAIJAN WRITERS UNION HOLDS MEETING

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 21 Sep 84 p 3

[Article: "Great Destiny of Literature"]

[Text] The writers of Azerbaijan, one of the detachments of writers of the Country of Soviets, see their main goal and task in affirming communist ideals, in serving the work of the party and the people, and in educating the Soviet individual, the active builder of a new society. This was the declaration of the participants in the managing plenum of the Azerbaijan Union of Writers. It was dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the writers unions of the USSR and Azerbaijan.

Mirza Ibragimov, chairman of the board of the Azerbaijan Union of Writers, Hero of Socialist Labor, and national writer of the republic, presented a report.

Speaking at the plenum were Suleyman Rustam, participant in the first All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers, Hero of Socialist Labor, and national poet of Azerbaijan; Mikail Rzakulizade, participant in the first Congress of Azerbaijan Writers; as well as Aziz Mirakhmedov, Mamed Ismail, Aleksandr Grich, Akyuma Billuri, Vilayat Kuliyev and Saday Budagly.

A half century ago, it was said at the plenum, a remarkable event took place in the life of Soviet society--the USSR Union of Writers was created, bringing together representatives of the literature of all the fraternal peoples of the Country of Soviets. The five decades that have passed since that time have shown the timeliness and the fruitfulness of the transition to new forms of organizing literary affairs in the socialist state. The birth of the writers union contributed to the further ideological consolidation of the ranks of the creative intelligentsia as well as to the growth in the potential of our artistic culture.

Looking back with a feeling of legitimate pride upon what has been accomplished in a half century, the participants in the plenum spoke of the great successes that have been achieved by multinational Soviet literature, including its integral component, Azerbaijan literature. Association in a creative union helped in the formation of a new type of writer, the writer-citizen, vitally linked with the people and participating directly in their daily affairs. During these years, Azerbaijan literature, having become an artistic chronicle of the creation of a new world and of the heroic deeds of its creators, attained wide recognition not only in our country but also far beyond its borders.



In following the tradition of Gorki, the representatives of literature are continually strengthening their ties with the life of the people and are actively participating in the movement "Union of Art and Labor," which, in turn, helps to increase the ideological and artistic level of the created works.

In analyzing the great and responsible tasks facing Soviet literature in the light of the demands of the 26th Congress, the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, and the instructions contained in the speeches of Comrade K.U. Chernenko, the participants in the plenum spoke of the necessity for a further increase in the role of artistic creativity in the life of society. The most important mission of socialist culture, they emphasized, is to form and raise the intellectual needs of people and to have an active influence on the ideological-political and moral aspect of the individual. This determines the measure of responsibility of the artist, whose talent is highly esteemed by the party, which sees in it an extremely valuable asset of the society.

Speaking of the necessity to strengthen the ties of literature with the practice of the building of communism, the writers noted some shortcomings in the literary process of the republic. The plenum participants asserted that Azerbaijan writers will continue to be worthy of the confidence that is being shown to them by the party and will contribute through their creativity to the business of building communism.

9746

CSO: 1830/21

## REGIONAL

### INTERVIEW ON UPCOMING POPULATION INQUIRY

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 11 Sep 84 p 2

[Interview with Kh. Mamedov, director of the Azerbaijan SSR TsSU [Central Statistical Administration], by A. Lerner; date and place not given.

[Text] As was already reported, a selected social-demographic population inquiry will be carried out in the country in January 1985. This is the first time that such an action is being carried out. Here in our republic, more than 300,000 people will be covered by the survey. A correspondent of BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY asked Kh. M. Mamedov, director of the Azerbaijan SSR TsSU, to comment on this event.

[Question] First of all, Khalil Mukhtarovich, please tell us the reason for the necessity of this work.

[Answer] Obviously, the readers of the newspaper know that the main sources of information on the population are the censuses and the on-going record of the population. All-Union censuses are carried out in the country about every 10 years, and I must emphasize that there is general recognition of the reliability as well as the fullness of the data received. The United Nations classifies the USSR as one of the countries having reliable population data. At the same time, the growing needs in administration and planning determine the necessity for further improvement in statistical information. And this results in the need to receive new data on the change in the composition of the population in the time that has passed since the 1979 census and also information that can be used to evaluate the measures related to the realization of an effective demographic policy. An important goal of the survey is to learn the opinion of the population in regard to which of the social tasks should have priority in their resolution.

The social-demographic survey will present new data characterizing the socialist way of life, and an analysis of the demographic and social processes, as foreseen by its program, will show how the tasks established in this area by the 26th CPSU Congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums are being solved. The survey will also provide rich material for an in-depth study of the questions relating to the resolution of the new tasks for economic and social development.

[Question] Which questions does the survey program effect specifically?

[Answer] Before answering that, I want to stress the continuity of the survey program from the program of the 1979 census. It will permit the corresponding comparisons and it will make possible the study of the changes in the structure of the population over the past 5 years. But it also includes new themes, and, for the first time, there will be a detailed study of them on the basis of a broad statistical base. In short, the range of questions covered is rather great. I will present only a few of them.

To a considerable degree, the effective implementation of a demographic policy will, for example, be aided by the subjects of marriages and births, which will make it possible to receive information on marital status, on the reasons and time of the termination of marriages, on the frequency of births for different generations, and on much more. A final analysis of these data at the end of the survey will make it possible to forecast more accurately, to provide the conditions for the normal reproduction of the population, and to determine measures directed toward the strengthening of the family. It will indicate more accurately what needs to be undertaken to combine motherhood with the active participation of women in social and labor activity. Information on the birth rate will make possible better planning of the development of a network of pre-natal institutions and schools, of the training of teachers and educators, and of the publication of textbooks and instruction manuals.

The survey materials will be a valuable source of information on the realization of the policies of the party and government directed toward increasing the well-being of the Soviet people. In this connection, the survey program foresees the receipt of information on the average monthly income of the population in 1984, on how effective the decrees of the managing organs on measures to strengthen the aid to families with children are being put into effect, and on the living conditions of these families. It is thought that the answers to these questions, broad and complete, of course, will provide a good deal of useful information which, in combination with the data for other subjects of the program, will permit the revelation of important interrelationships between various demographic and social institutions.

In addition with our increasingly acute problem of labor resources, of particular interest is the survey's orientation toward the search for reserves in the labor force. A special questionnaire provides for the collection of sufficiently detailed information on the composition of the population in the able-bodied age group, and it will make it possible to determine the possibilities to bring into active production those citizens who desire to participate in it but are not doing so for one reason or another.

I want to direct your attention to the fact that this survey does not touch upon either the property interests or the personal interests of citizens. It is not connected either with questions of registration, the distribution and use of housing, or with other similar questions. The information received from the population will be used exclusively to obtain composite data in accordance with the established program. Survey workers are forbidden to communicate to anyone the contents of the answers to the survey form and the questionnaire.

[Question] The coming survey is a sample. Therefore, I think that our readers would be interested in knowing who will be among those surveyed.

[Answer] The total number to be surveyed was already indicated at the beginning of the conversation. I will only say that it amounts to less than 5 percent of the population of the republic and covers practically all of its territory. The survey will exclude only Dashkesanskiy, Kel'badzharskiy, Lachinskiy, Lerikskiy and Yardymliński rayons where, as everyone knows, communication is somewhat difficult in January.

The election districts for the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet on 4 March 1984 served as the basis for the sample selection and the formation of a survey system. The USSR TsSU made this decision after reviewing a number of proposed variants. It was considered that precisely the preparation and realization of these elections provided for a maximum coverage of all households and voters. That is, this approach is justified economically and is satisfactory from the point of view of the initial material. To achieve the greatest possible reliability and objectivity of the final survey results, "Soyuzmashinform" of the USSR TsSU used a specially developed program to carry out (using electronic computer technology) a mechanical selection of every twentieth election precinct. The list by city and rayon of precincts included in the survey for our republic has already been received by the USSR TsSU. In these precincts, the entire permanent population here will be surveyed.

[Question] As we see, the number of people surveyed and their dispersion throughout the territory are rather great. And in the TsSU department for population censuses and surveys, there are, as far as we know, only six people working. Are they capable of handling this volume of work in the short and rather limited time period?

[Answer] Naturally, it is simply unthinkable that the work force in the department could carry out this work. Therefore, analogous departments have been created and staffed with qualified personnel in the statistical administrations of the Nakhichevanskaya ASSR, the Nagorno-Karabakhskaya Autonomous Oblast and the city of Baku. For a period of three and a half months, the directors of the rayon information-computer stations and centers will be permitted to have one special assistant for matters involving the survey.

The TsSU department is receiving great help in preparing for the survey from all responsible workers of the staff of our administration and the mobilization "Azermashinform" assigned as curators of the rayon units of the state statistical organization. Perhaps the most responsible work in putting together survey personnel has entered into an active phase. For in the final analysis, the success of the entire matter will depend upon the specific performer, the one carrying out the collection of data. The enumerators and also the intermediate controllers supervising their work (over 1,000 people in all) are being brought in from among workers of the local enterprises, institutions, organizations, kolkhozes and educational institutions. All of them are freed from their main work for the entire period of carrying out the survey. We are putting our confidence in people who are more active, conscientious, cultured and educated, who are well familiar with the goals and tasks of the coming survey. *local*



party and soviet organs are giving us a lot of help in this.

[Question] So the question that we now come to is what stage is the preparation for the survey now in?

[Answer] The local statistical organs have completed the very voluminous and painstaking work of compiling the lists of households. On the basis of these lists and cartographic material, they have prepared organizational plans for carrying out the survey--one of the most important matters in the course of the preparation. These plans determine the division of the territories of the election precincts in the rayons and cities into counting districts. In addition, it is precisely through the organizational plan that the completion of the survey personnel is determined and that they specify their instruction and the testing of their knowledge as well as the organization of mass explanatory work among the population. The last is attaining particular significance, since it is called upon to be convincing in showing the inhabitants the goals, tasks and significance of the survey so as to secure their full support and help.

And we, of course, are already thinking about the optimum organization of the receipt, verification and development of the survey material for its subsequent delivery to "Soyuzmashinform" of the USSR TsSU, where its centralized processing will take place. No undercounting or counting errors are admissible here. I am certain that the republic's statisticians will not make these errors. Contributing to this optimism is the creative and businesslike attitude of our specialists, who know and love their business, and also the confidence in the fact that the population of the republic will provide all the help that they can to the state statistical workers.

In this connection, I would like to make a few comments in regard to the situation with respect to the establishment of some order in street names, the numbering of households, and also the completeness of the statistical coverage of the population, factors that largely determine the successful realization of the survey. Unfortunately, special checks by our workers have revealed quite a few shortcomings here in a number of rayons of the republic. The attention of the corresponding services of the rayispolkoms, the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services has been directed to these shortcomings. We hope that they will be eliminated. And the survey will take place at a high level.

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CSO: 1830/21

## REGIONAL

### PUBLIC OPINION CENTER SURVEY ON DISCIPLINE

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 7 Sep 84 p 2

[Article: "The Key Link--Discipline"]

[Text] In May of this year, an appeal by the Center for the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research under the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee entitled "Discipline and Order--the Concern of Each and Every One" was published in the press. The key problems which it raised evoked heated interest and lively response from labor collectives and hundreds of persons. This is evidenced, in particular, by the numerous letters, appeals and proposals presented by workers to the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, to the oblast, city and rayon party committees, to the Center for the Study of Public Opinion, and to the editorial offices of newspapers, television and radio.

With the active participation of Communists and all workers, the appeal was discussed at open party meetings, meetings of professional union and komsomol organizations, labor collectives of enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, construction sites, ministries, departments, scientific institutions and educational institutions.

A convincing confirmation of the fact that discipline is the concern of each and every one, and that these problems deeply worry and concern people and have become the center of attention of all society is presented by the results of a telephone survey conducted for the first time in the republic and a by a public opinion poll of workers conducted at a number of large industrial enterprises in Baku.

The course of the discussion was regularly illuminated on the pages of the press, television and radio, which facilitated the widespread involvement of society. There is an on-going, matter-of-fact and interested discussion going on in the press and state radio and television broadcasts on problems of strengthening socialist discipline of labor. The on-site state of affairs is

being analyzed, and specific examples and facts are being cited to tell of the work in organizing the struggle against various types of infractions.

Numerous collective and individual letters sent from the cities and rayons of the republic express deep satisfaction with the fact that the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, bringing to life the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee, is constantly consulting with the people and is interested in the opinions of workers on the most important problems of socio-economic life in the republic. The letters express unanimous support of the measures implemented by the party on the overall strengthening of socialist discipline. They also express the collective opinion of the workers on problems of increasing the effectiveness of economic management and organization of production, growth in labor productivity, further reduction in losses of work time, instillment of a conscientious and honest attitude toward work, and decisive elimination of a conciliatory attitude toward any infringements. They tell of work experience which has been gained on-site and directed toward strengthening discipline and creating an atmosphere of exactingness and high standards in production. They propose specific measures for mobilizing the workers in the battle against mismanagement, irresponsibility, and negligence, as well as measures for eliminating shortcomings.

The large volume of factual material obtained on the basis of letters from workers was widely used in preparing for the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Plenum which was held in June, and which outlined a comprehensive program for the realization of the resolution by the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Work of Azerbaijan Party Organizations in Implementing the Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and the VTsSPS [All-Union Council of Professional Unions] entitled 'On Intensifying Work in Strengthening Socialist Labor Discipline'". It was pointed out at the plenum that the letters of workers clearly testify to their decisiveness in comprehensively strengthening socialist discipline and in attaining new heights in economic and social progress.

An analysis of the letters shows that they are written by workers, kolkhoz farmers, doctors, teachers, scientific workers, housewives, pensioners, students, in short people representing all the strata of the republic's population. Over 80 percent of the letters are from individuals, and the rest are collective appeals. Over 60 percent of the correspondence was received from rayons of the republic, and around 40 percent--from Baku. Every second letter raises economic, social, ideological and organizational questions of strengthening socialist discipline and expresses critical comments and proposals on the entire complex of examined problems.

In their appeals to the Center, workers tell of their determination to work even more productively, to wage an irreconcilable struggle against any infractions of discipline which might be an important condition in fulfilling national economic plans or in strengthening the basics of our form of life. The increase in daily and goal-oriented political education and organizational work and the increased exactingness and control in the republic's labor collectives have facilitated a noticeable reduction in losses of work

time, in reduction of the number of absences and distraction of persons for jobs not associated with production, and in reduction of personnel turnover. In noting this fact, almost one-third of the authors stress the leading role played by party organizations in this work and propose that questions of labor and production discipline be discussed more often within the system of party-political education and in the course of special political education days, and that communist hearings be practiced.

The workers stress that an important means in seeking out and utilizing the reserves in production effectiveness and work quality is socialist competition, which stands out as a true example of production management, facilitating the formulation of a communist attitude toward labor. Many of the correspondents--and every tenth letter is devoted to these problems--share their experience in the struggle of labor collectives for the fulfillment of the accepted socialist responsibilities and counter plans.

At the same time, the letters note that in some places there is often a formal approach taken to the organization of labor competition. Often collectives and workers who are not working to their full capacity are overlooked. There have been considerable improvements in the work of summarizing competition and in the application of measures for stimulating, studying and promulgating leading experience. In determining the winners, it is necessary to consider fulfillment of plans for deliveries, as well as the behavior of the workers in everyday life and in production, their participation in public life. Preference must be given to those collectives with a stable complement of workers and no disruptions in labor discipline. These are the proposals presented in the letters from the installer brigade leader of the "Vysotzhilstroy" Trust V. Rustamov, from the Director of SPTU-14 A. Tagiyev, in a collective appeal of young workers in Kaspar, and others.

An important role in strengthening labor and production discipline and in improving planning and management of production belongs to a large degree to the brigade order. This progressive form of organizing and stimulating labor facilitates the elimination of absences and tardiness and the increase in labor productivity and rhythmic work by each member of the collective, as well as by brigades, shops and enterprises. This is specifically mentioned in the letters received from a worker at the Ordubadskiy Canning Plant, from deputy of the republic Supreme Soviet F. Fatullayeva, from brigade leader N. Kagramanova at the Ship Repair Plant imeni V. Sturua, from komsomol youth brigade leader L. Lineva at the Baku Glazed Pottery Plant, from brigade leader R. Akhmedova at the Baku Worsted Wool Plant, and others.

The authors of these letters note that the conditions for transfer of collectives to the brigade order are still far from being implemented everywhere. Every twentieth appeal to the Center is devoted to these questions. Brigade leaders and members of foremen's councils are sharing their experience in working in this new manner and expressing their opinions for the further improvement of this system.

Noting the importance of decisively eliminating the conciliatory attitude toward transgressors, the workers consider it necessary to utilize the Statute on Labor Collectives more fully and effectively for this purpose.



It presents broad possibilities for actively influencing the work of each laborer. Almost every twelfth letter received by the Center is devoted to this topic. The transgressors should not hide behind the collective and place the responsibility for their own wrongdoings on the shoulders of their comrades. This is the opinion expressed by brigade leader B. Gamidov from the Baku Tire Plant, by A. Agamaliyev, worker at the Sovkhoz imeni A. Aslanov in Akhsuinskiy Rayon, by collective PMK-25 of trust No 8, and others. A number of letters propose holding inspections of the state of discipline at enterprises, "discipline days", and creating appropriate commissions made up of representatives of the administration and public organizations. The duties of these commissions would include control not only over timely check-in and check-out of workers, but also over the rational application of work time and prevention of disruptions.

Every thirteenth correspondent believes that the skilled application of moral and material levers is a reliable means for strengthening labor discipline and increasing production effectiveness. While severely punishing the transgressors with monetary fines, depriving them of various benefits and placing the full material responsibility on them for defects and truancy, it is necessary to more actively stimulate and reward conscientious and disciplined workers.

In the struggle for bringing about order, it is very important, note the workers, to publicize measures which are taken in regard to shirkers and slipshods. Around 8 percent of the workers, kolkhoz farmers and white collar personnel propose implementing forms of accounting which would make it possible to objectively evaluate the contribution of each worker into the common good and stepping up the work of large-circulation and wall newspapers and radio stations. In their opinion, it is necessary to make broader use of sociological studies on questions of labor organization and rational application of work time.

As evidenced by the mail, the workers are deeply concerned about questions of strict adherence to discipline of deliveries, which is directly associated with labor discipline. Expressing sharp criticism of disruptions in time schedules for the manufacture and shipment of products of specified quality and assortment to the consumers, brigade leader at DSK-2 G. Gasparyan, worker at the "Revolyutsiya" Sovkhoz in Khachmasskiy Rayon N. Rizvanov, and others stress the fact that unconditional fulfillment of contractual responsibilities must become the measure of the degree of discipline and responsibility of each labor collective.

An important role in the work on strengthening the degree of organization and order belongs to the leader of the collective and to his personal example. Much is given to the leader, but much must also be asked of him. It is necessary to increase his personal responsibility in every way for order and organization in the sector which he manages. This is the theme of every ninth correspondent writing to the Center.

The rhythm of a city and the matter-of-fact attitude of people are greatly dependent on the precise organization and functioning of all the services in

the urban economy. However, the work of public transport, the communal services, trade and public catering enterprises, and medical and preschool institutions is subjected to just criticism in the letters. Many of the correspondents propose specific measures for eliminating these shortcomings.

A number of the proposals submitted are directed toward the broader and more effective application of legal standards set forth by Soviet legislation in the struggle against various types of infractions. The SGPTU-74 collective, dairyhand G. Ismaylov at the Sovkhoz imeni Kirov in Rusarskiy Rayon, mechanic A. Gadzhiyev at the Sovkhoz imeni Sabir in Masallinskiy Rayon, and others all recommend imposing stricter penalties for distortion of accounting, for over-reporting and showmanship, for suppression of criticism and persecution because of it. They also recommend entering penalties for disruption of discipline into the work record and charging the funds spent on investigating slanderous and untrue accusations to the accuser.

The wide range of problems raised by the workers as well as the proposals and comments which they have submitted are being brought to the attention of the appropriate republic ministries, departments, organizations and labor collectives, and specific practical measures are being taken. These questions are the center of attention of sections of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee who, in conjunction with the Center, are implementing control over the realization of the workers' proposals.

\* \* \*

The all-people's struggle for strengthening discipline and order in production which has arisen throughout the entire country reflects the requirements of life itself. Without strong labor, production, plan, and state discipline, we will be unable to move ahead rapidly or to solve the problems of the fourth year and of the five-year plan as a whole. Strengthening discipline, stressed K. U. Chernenko, is not a short-term campaign, but an exacting everyday task.

The Center for the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Studies under the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee thanks the workers who took part in the discussion of key problems associated with bringing order and organization to all spheres of our lives and expresses its assurance that this honest, sincere and constructive discussion will be continued. The opinions of workers, their proposals and recommendations help to expose new reserves in this important work in the republic. The resolution by the CPSU Central Committee entitled "On the Work of Azerbaijan Party Organizations in Implementing the Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the VTsSPS, 'On Intensifying Work in Strengthening Socialist Labor Discipline' ", as well as the decisions of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Plenum held in June to discuss this important question, are aimed at the intensification of this work.

As the CPSU Central Committee resolution stressed, the party, professional union, komsomol organizations and soviet and economic management organs in the republic must ensure further intensification in work on strengthening

socialist discipline as an important reserve in increasing labor productivity and effectiveness of social production, as well as successful fulfillment of economic, social and ideological tasks. In doing so, they must adhere to the decisions of the 26th Party Congress, subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and directives of comrade K. U. Chernenko. A comprehensive approach must be taken to strengthening discipline, increasing the effectiveness of ideological education work, attaining a high degree of rhythm in production, creating the necessary living and working conditions, and strengthening the demands placed on personnel for solving these problems.

The center will continue to systematically inform the public in the future about the opinions of workers on questions of further strengthening socialist labor discipline. We await new letters, signals and proposals.

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## REGIONAL

### RUSSIAN TAUGHT TO THOUSANDS OF UZBEK PRESCHOOLERS

Tashkent OQITUVCHILAR GAZETASI in Uzbek 27 Jun 84 p 2

[Article by M. Isoqov: "Cherishing the Russian Language"]

[Text] Special attention is being given to teaching the Russian language to the younger generation in the preschool education institutions of our republic. In this field the work being conducted by the pedagogical kollektiv of the standing republic course on raising the qualifications of the instructors of preschool education children's institutions is exemplary. Here the education-methodological curriculum developed on teaching Russian in the kindergartens of various oblasts of our republic is used as a basis for producing theoretical knowledge and practical skills for instructing those in attendance how to teach a mastery of Russian to children. They go to model nurseries and kindergartens and study the experience gathered on the Russian language.

All necessary conditions are created for those attending the course. Divided into two groups they participate in 20 hours of theoretical-practical lessons on teaching Russian to children. The practical lessons are conducted in kindergartens Nos 27, 84, 395, 448, 479, and 513 of Tashkent City. In these kindergartens which are model kindergartens of our republic those attending acquaint themselves with the holding of lessons on the basis of modern technical means and visual instruments, the use of language laboratory apparatus and the equipping of Russian language cabinets. In short, in the course of 2 months those attending firmly master the methodology of teaching Russian oral speech to youngsters in the kindergartens of our republic.

"At present there are 1530 Uzbek groups in the nurseries and kindergartens of the cities and villages of our republic. There are 42,450 Uzbek children enthusiastically learning Russian in these groups," said the director of the course Toshkhon Roziqova in a conversation with us. "Every year 400-500 specialist cadre raise their qualifications in our course. So far about 4,000 specialists have completed the course. In the future we will always seek the study of Russian in the kindergartens."

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## REGIONAL

### PILFERING AT LITHUANIAN FOOD ENTERPRISES EXPOSED

Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 2 Sep 84 p 2

[Article by Liudvikas Sabutis, first deputy procurator of the Lithuanian SSR: "A Battle or Its Semblance? Enterprises of the Minister of Food Industry Do Not Take Sufficient Measures To Protect Socialist Property."]

[Excerpts] The Lithuanian SSR Procurator's Office inspects ministries, enterprises and organizations to see how they observe laws regulating the protection of socialist property and all-round discipline. There is concern at the state of affairs found in some enterprises of the Ministry of Food Industry.

Last year the Utena Beer Combine was allowed to write off over 30,000 rubles in losses caused by above norm breakage of glass packing during transportation. It was well known in allowing this write off that the losses were caused through the fault of the combine's administration. However, the culprits were not called to account. The prosecutor's office had to protest, and only then the situation was partially corrected: the director, Jackevicius, the chief accountant, Valancience, and others were made materially answerable.

Many instances of embezzlement have been exposed at the Vilnius Stumbras Alcohol, Liquor and Vodka Association, the Kaunas Confectionary Factory and the Vilnius Pergale Factory. At the Pergale Factory products were pilfered by both workers and department heads. Mechanic Vaitkus of that factory was arrested with stolen products and later punished. More than 2,000 rubles worth of stolen chocolate, chewing gum and liquor were found during a search on his premises. His garage was virtually converted into a store of stolen confectionary goods.

It may seem that petty pilfering is among the less dangerous encroachments on socialist property, but the danger of such petty pilfering is in its abundance. The moral factor is also not the less important. Pilferers and lovers of easy profit avoid honest work, live parasitically, demoralizing their neighbors, especially young people. The bacilli of pilfering infect both families and neighbors!

Recently the procurator's office together with the Vilnius City Militia officials once again inspected the candy shop at the Pergale Factory. At the end

of the shift, some workers attempted to leave the factory with stolen products, but, seeing the officials, they dropped them in the corridor, the cloakroom and other places. These "parcels" were collected and weighed. It was established that on that day the attempt had been made to steal over 1,000 rubles worth of sweets, nuts and other products. And this happened on a single shift only.

In explaining why they were stealing, many of those apprehended stated without shame, "It is not only we who take, foremen and department heads also take." And, indeed, large quantities of sweets, nuts, coffee, chewing gum and liquor were found in the office of the department head Liaukys.

CSO: 1809/2

## REGIONAL

### LETTER TO EDITOR ON TURKMEN IDENTITY IN STAVROPOL' KRAY

Moscow SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV in Russian No 7, Jul 84 (signed to press 20 Jun 84) p 89

[Letter from A. Chernov, instructor of the organizational and instructional department of the ispolkom of the Stavropol kray soviet under the rubric, "A Letter Arrived at the Editorial Office": "The Motherland Is the Same for Everyone"]

[Text] There is a Turmenskiy Rayon in the Stavropol Kray. A considerable number of its inhabitants are, in fact, Turkmens. Their native language is heard in the names of rural soviets: Kazgulakskiy, Kambulatskiy, and Kendzhe-Kulakskiy...

I will not delve deeply into history; I will only say that sometime in the 17th century freedom-loving cattle-breeders, cramped by the bays, departed for the Caspian and settled here.

Today representatives of more than 20 nationalities harmoniously work shoulder to shoulder in these parts: Russians, Turkmen, Tartars, Armenians, Nagays... Among those whose well-deserved fame is spreading in the rayon and beyond its borders are: the Russian Nikolay Ivanovich Zayko, a workman in cattle fattening at the kolkhoz imeni Kalinin; the Belorussian Lyubov Andreyevna Kolodich, a milkmaid at the Put Lenina Kolkhoz; the Dargzhin Suleyman Murtazaliyev, a shepherd at the Krasnyy Manych Kolkhoz; and the Turkmen Bekmurat Orazovich Kostekeyev, a tractor operator at the Vladimirovskiy Meat Sovkhoz.

People of all nationalities living in the rayon take an active part in the activities of the soviets and in the management of state and public affairs. Some 59 representatives of those peoples who are minorities here have been elected deputies of the rayon and rural soviets. There are also many of them among national economic specialists. Suffice it to say that 120 young people of various nationalities are now studying in VUZ's and tekhnikums at sovkhoses' and kolkhozes' expense.

It is possible to find all these facts in statistical references and collections, but now national differences no longer play a marked role in life. How else can we explain that 29 families of mixed nationality were formed in the rayon in the last year alone?

But there is still a reason for the rayon's name. Turkmens preserve close ties with the places their ancestors came from, and the rayon as a whole competes with the Gyaurskiy Rayon in Ashkhabad Oblast. Quite recently a delegation led by Yu. V. Vivtonenko, the chairman of the ispolkom of the Turkmenskig Rayon Soviet, returned from there. The workers of both regions, living on different sides of the Caspian, are engaged in the same occupation, sheep breeding. There is something for them to see and study at each other's place.

The annual exchange of delegations also reinforces cultural ties. The air of Tukmeniya refreshes national traditions and features in the memory, which the Turkmen preserve here in Stavropol and which their Russian friends, village neighbors and work comrades deeply respect. No distances nor administrative boundaries prevent a person in our area from being an internationalist. After all, we all have one Motherland, the Soviet Union.

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## REGIONAL

### UZBEK LAW ENFORCEMENT ORGANS DISCUSS SPECULATION

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian On 18 September carries on page 2 a 140-word UzTAG article titled "For Strict Order in Serving the Population." The article says that on 17 September in the republic procuracy there was an interdepartmental coordinating session of leaders of departments, ministries, and law enforcement organs to consider problems relating to eliminating speculation and other violations in the sphere of public service. Reasons for violations were analyzed. It was noted that the measures taken in the fight with negative phenomena in commercial enterprises, transport, consumer services, and public health still fall short of the demands of the 16th Plenum of the Uzbek CP CC. Additional measures were recommended to law enforcement and control organs. Stress was laid on the need to improve decisively the quality of cadres in public service, to raise the effectiveness of the departmental control service, and to ensure the strictest adherence to established laws.

### USMANKHODZHAYEV SPEAKS AT 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF WRITERS UNION

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 18 September carries on pages 1 and 2 three articles totalling 1,000 words observing the celebration in Tashkent on 17 September of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Uzbekistan Writers Union. One article is a letter from the Uzbek CP CC to the writers union noting the contribution of Uzbek Soviet literature to "the golden fund of socialist spiritual culture." All three articles dwell on the duty of Uzbek writers to help form the new Soviet man by concentrating on the moral and psychological climate in the republic, exposing the misanthropic designs of militarism and imperialism, carrying on the battle against bourgeois ideology, supporting the peaceful policies and benevolent strivings of the Soviet Union.

Speeches were delivered at the plenum of the Uzbek Writers Union Administration by Uzbek CP CC First Secretary Usmankhodzhayev, First Secretary of the Uzbek Writers Union Administration S. Azimov, delegates to the First Conference of Soviet Writers N. Safarov (Uzbek People's Writer) and K. Yashen (Hero of Socialist Labor), People's Poet of Uzbekistan Uygun, General Secretary of the Association of Asian and African Writers Aleks La Guma, leader of the Romanian Creative Writers Union Dumitru Radu Popescu (transliterated from Russian), Turkmen writer B. Khudaynazarov, Chairman of the Administration of the Karakalpak Writers' Union T. Kaipbergenov, and others. Members and candidate members of the Uzbek CP CC Buro took part in the plenum.

## REGIONAL

### LITHUANIAN MVD SCHOOL GRADUATION REPORTED

[Editorial Report] Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian on 1 September carries on page 2 a 300-word article entitled "Graduation of New Officers" by Benediktas Pranckus, senior lieutenant MVD, describing the graduation ceremony at the Vilnius MVD Special Secondary School for the training of leading workers and lawyers, which is observing its 40th anniversary. The ceremony was attended by Mikhail Prochyukhanov, Lithuanian SSR deputy minister of internal affairs and chairman of the qualifications commission. Diplomas were presented to the graduates by Albertas Malinauskas, head of the school, Lithuanian SSR honored lawyer, MVD colonel.

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